

American Literature

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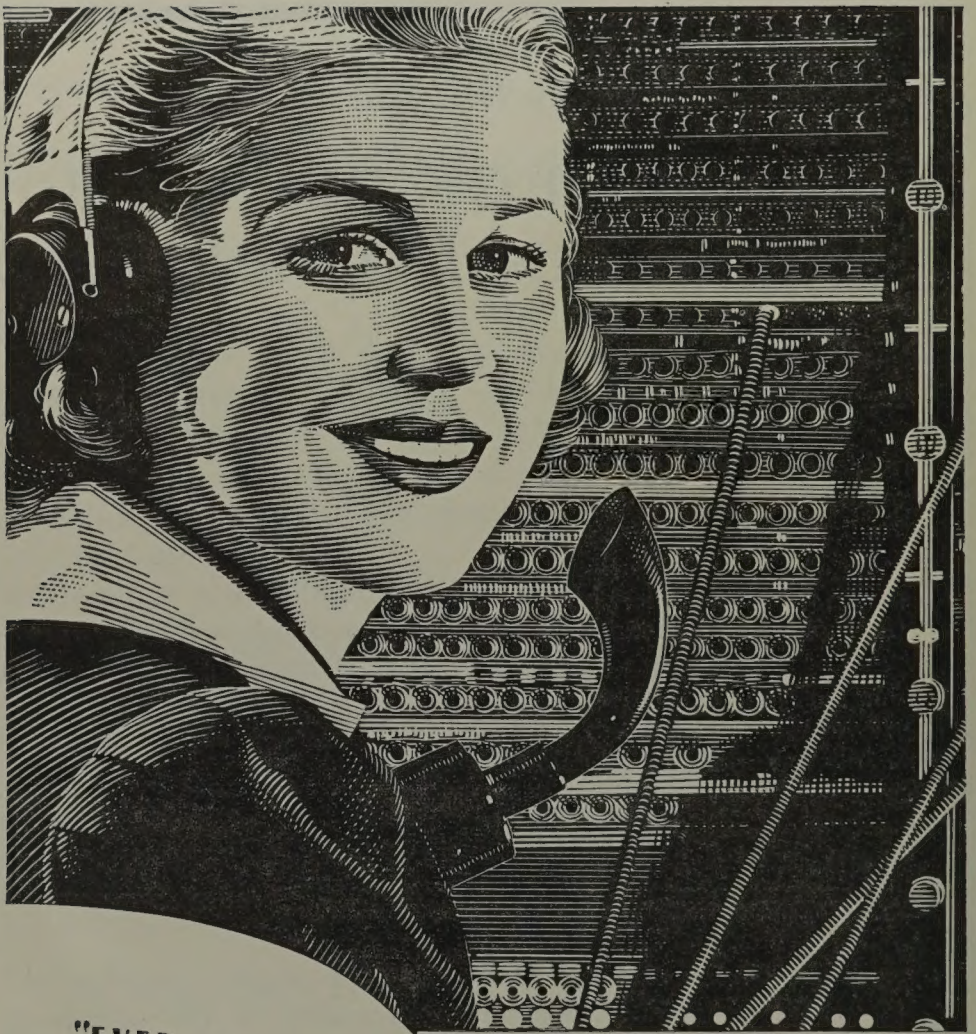
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TO MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN LITERATURE GROUP OF THE M. L. A.

Professor Floyd Stovall, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, has submitted the following nominees selected by the Committee for membership in the Advisory Council:

Professor Louise Pound (University of Nebraska)

Professor George F. Whicher (Amherst College).

According to the bylaws of the American Literature Group any member of the M. L. A. who has paid dues in the Group for the year 1939 is an active member and entitled to nominate and vote in the election. Such members now have the privilege of submitting to the Secretary as many as two additional nominees before October 1, 1939. The two members receiving the highest number of nominations by this method will be added to the ballot to be circulated in November.

(Signed) TREMAINE McDOWELL, *Secretary,*
University of Minnesota.

CHANNING AND TRANSCENDENTALISM

ARTHUR I. LADU
North Carolina State College

I

ALTHOUGH writers on American literature do not agree upon the relation of the elder William Ellery Channing to transcendentalism, it appears that most of them consider him to have been a transcendentalist before transcendentalism had become full-fledged, or at least to have been a forerunner of the transcendentalist movement. Thus, one historian says that with regard to his emphasis on the sanctity of the individual conscience, Channing was "the direct intellectual precursor of Emerson and the Transcendentalists."¹ H. C. Goddard calls Channing "the bridge between Unitarianism and transcendentalism," and thinks that Channing "shows a development in the transcendental direction," adding that

all those distinctive doctrines which gave his preaching uniqueness and significance in his own day and which give him historical importance now, flowed from the transcendental elements in his belief.²

Professor Parrington, in like manner, refers to Channing as "a forerunner of transcendental individualism."³ O. B. Frothingham, however, thinks that Channing was not essentially a transcendentalist, but that he came nearer to being a liberal Unitarian,⁴ while another writer puts Channing and Emerson casually together as formulators of the positive creed of Unitarianism.⁵ Not only do historians fail to agree as to Channing's relation to transcendentalism, but they appear rather vague; to call a man a bridge between two movements is not to indicate clearly his relation to either.

¹ Charles F. Richardson, *American Literature: 1607-1885* (New York, 1894), I, 289.

² Harold C. Goddard, "Transcendentalism," *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, 1933), I, 330; *Studies in New England Transcendentalism* (New York, 1908), p. 28.

³ Vernon L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1930), II, 337.

⁴ Octavius B. Frothingham, *Transcendentalism in New England: A History* (New York, 1876), pp. 110 ff.

⁵ Henry K. Rowe, *The History of Religion in the United States* (New York, 1924), p. 129.

To clarify that relation should be of value to the study of American literature, for, as R. E. Spiller has maintained, in Channing's time his literary influence was pronounced, both in America and England; in the latter country, from 1823 to 1849, Channing's reputation as an American author was second only to the reputations of Irving and Cooper.⁶ Richardson states that American literature during its formative period in the early nineteenth century "owed much of its growth to the constant and beneficial influence of such a creator, critic, and stimulating power as Channing."⁷ Lowell praised Channing's essays as examples of excellent prose,⁸ and Emerson called Channing's papers on Milton and Napoleon

the first specimens in this country of that large criticism which in England had given power and fame to the *Edinburgh Review*. They were widely read, and of course immediately fruitful in provoking emulation which lifted the style of Journalism.⁹

Part of the misunderstanding regarding Channing's position evidently results from the fact that, at least during his last years, he expressed dissatisfaction with Unitarianism. This is one of the reasons for Goddard's conclusion that Channing showed increasing sympathy with transcendentalism.¹⁰ But Channing's dissatisfaction did not reflect a change on his part; the change was in Unitarianism, not in him.

In his famous 1819 sermon Channing defined the position of the Unitarians,¹¹ and apparently felt himself in genuine sympathy with them. With them he rejected Calvinism, and proclaimed the unity of God, the dignity of man, the significance of Jesus as divinely sent to be an example for humanity, and the love of God for man. With them, too—and this was perhaps most important of all—he welcomed the spirit of free inquiry, the untrammelled activity of the human spirit in its attempt to establish its proper relationship

⁶ Robert E. Spiller, "A Case for W. E. Channing," *New England Quarterly*, III, 55-81 (Jan., 1930).

⁷ Richardson, *op. cit.*, I, 289. See also Samuel M. Crothers, "William Ellery Channing," *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 6; George S. Hellman, "Later Essayists," *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (New York, 1933), III, 109; F. G. Peabody, "The Humanism of William Ellery Channing," *Christian Register*, CIX, 407-409 (May, 1930).

⁸ Horace E. Scudder, *James Russell Lowell: A Biography* (Boston, 1901), II, 364.

⁹ Edward Waldo Emerson (ed.), *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Centenary ed., Boston, 1904), X, 339.

¹⁰ See footnote 2.

¹¹ *The Works of William Ellery Channing, D.D.* (New and Complete ed., Boston, 1890), pp. 367-384; Crothers, *loc. cit.*

with God and man.¹² To accomplish this end, Channing desired for men complete freedom from authority that they might "give themselves to deliberate, devout, fearless study of God's word in connection with his works and providence";¹³ as long as he thought the Unitarians had the same desire, he felt himself one of them. He thought they still had that desire in 1826 when he preached his sermon "Unitarian Christianity Most Favorable to Piety."¹⁴ He thought so in 1831 when he wrote of the Unitarian faith: "It has no established creed or symbol. Its friends think each for himself, and differ much from each other."¹⁵ But during the decade that followed, Channing felt that Unitarianism had developed a creed of its own, by which he could no more be bound than he could by the creed of Calvinism. At length he thought himself forced to condemn the Unitarian creed decisively. In 1841 he wrote to James Martineau:

Old Unitarianism must undergo important modification or developments. . . . It began as a protest against the rejection of reason. . . . It pledged itself to progress, as its life and end; but it has gradually grown stationary, and now we have a *Unitarian Orthodoxy*.¹⁶

In another letter written in the same year he said:

I do not speak as a Unitarian, but an independent Christian. I have little or no interest in Unitarians *as a sect*. . . . With Dr. Priestley . . . who had most to do in producing the late Unitarian movement, I have less sympathy than with many of the "Orthodox."¹⁷

Again in 1841 he wrote to W. Trevilcock:

I am little of a Unitarian, have little sympathy with the system of Priestley and Belsham, and stand aloof from all but those . . . who look for a purer and more effectual manifestation of Christian truth.¹⁸

It seems plain that it was not Channing that changed, but Unitarianism. Consequently, that his opinion of Unitarianism in 1841 was different from that which he had held a decade earlier does

¹² Channing, *Works*, pp. 380-384.

¹³ *Memoir of William Ellery Channing with Extracts from His Correspondence and Manuscripts* (2d ed., Boston, 1848), II, 361. ¹⁴ Channing, *Works*, pp. 384-401.

¹⁵ Channing, *Memoir*, II, 387. Also Charles T. Brooks, *William Ellery Channing: A Centennial Memory* (Boston, 1880), pp. 107-120; Minot J. Savage, "Channing Unitarianism," *The Channing Centenary in America, Great Britain, and Ireland*, ed. Russell N. Bellows (Boston, 1881), pp. 111-118. ¹⁶ Channing, *Memoir*, II, 399.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 380.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 381.

not mean that he moved, as did Emerson, in the direction of transcendentalism.

II

Insistence upon the validity of immediate intuition, independent of any external experience or teaching, is an important tenet in the transcendental philosophy. In fact, it gives to transcendentalism its most significant characteristic; namely, its striking faith in the infallibility of the individual conscience. This is agreed upon both by those who think that Channing was a transcendentalist and by those who think he was not. Thus, Goddard distinguishes the Unitarians from the transcendentalists by ascribing to the former the belief that human nature is essentially good, whereas the latter believe that it is divine. This distinction, he thinks, is one more reason for recognizing Channing as essentially a transcendentalist.¹⁹ Frothingham agrees concerning the nature of transcendentalism, which "had a creed, and a definite one."

Transcendentalism was a distinct philosophical system. Practically it was an assertion of the inalienable worth of man; theoretically it was an assertion of the immanence of divinity in instinct, the transference of supernatural attributes to the natural constitution of mankind.²⁰

However, as we have seen, Frothingham does not agree that Channing was a transcendentalist. The problem for us, then, seems not so much to involve the nature of transcendentalism, as to ascertain what Channing really did think of the transcendentalist conception of the divinity of human nature, and of the infallibility of the human conscience.

This cardinal point of transcendentalism Channing rejected. Particularly he disagreed with the transcendental attitude toward Christ and the miracles, and toward the Christian virtues of humility and meekness in which throughout his life he firmly believed. In a letter to George Bush in 1841 he wrote:

I might adopt much of the Trinitarian language, not only on the Trinity, but the Atonement. I could say, that Christ died to magnify the law, to satisfy Divine justice, and that God cannot forgive without manifesting his displeasure at sin.²¹

¹⁹ *Studies in New England Transcendentalism*, pp. 28 f.

²⁰ Frothingham, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

²¹ Channing, *Memoir*, II, 379. See also Grace Ellery Channing (ed.), *Channing's Note-Book: Passages from the Unpublished Manuscripts of William Ellery Channing* (Boston, 1902), pp. 25 f., 53; Channing, *Memoir*, I, 427.

At another time he said:

Christian truth coming to me from the living soul of Jesus, with his living faith and love, and brought out in his grand and beautiful life, is a very, very different thing from an abstract system.²²

How far Channing's religious philosophy separated him from the transcendentalists he was well aware. Concerning their interpretation of Jesus he wrote:

Any speculations which throw mists or doubts over his history, and diminish the conviction of his grandeur and importance, are poor and must come to naught. . . . I do fear a tendency in the present movement, to loosen the tie which binds the soul to its great Friend and Deliverer.²³

In 1841 he wrote to James Martineau concerning the transcendentalists:

They are anxious to defend the soul's immediate connection with God. They fear lest Christ be made a barrier between the soul and the Supreme, and are in danger of substituting private inspiration for Christianity. Should they go thus far, my hopes from them will cease wholly.²⁴

This comment Channing follows with an exhaustive defense of the validity and value of faith in miracles.²⁵ To Miss Peabody he writes: I am also grieved to find you insensible to the clear, bright distinction between Jesus Christ and ourselves. To me, and I should think to every reader of the New Testament, he stands apart, alone. . . . He is a being of moral perfection, unstained by sin.²⁶

Channing's belief in the divine nature of Jesus and the New Testament, and his conception of sin, clearly indicate a fundamental distinction between his thought and transcendentalism. "I am somewhat disappointed that this new movement is to do so little for the spiritual regeneration of society," he reflects,²⁷ and later adds: "I have little hope in this new movement, except as it indicates deep wants of the soul. . . ."²⁸ Again he writes to Miss Peabody:

It would seem as if your experience had shown you human nature developing its highest sentiments without help and confirmation from abroad. To me, history and observation and experience read very different lessons, and the consequences of overlooking them are not doubtful.²⁹

²² Channing, *Memoir*, II, 442.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 451.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 446.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 450.

²³ *Ibid.*, II, 449.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 453, 455.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 449.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 449 f.

How completely does this contradict the vital transcendentalist idea that intuitive knowledge is supremely valid, and that history and experience are of comparatively little worth. Furthermore, it is apparent that Channing was not hazy about transcendentalism. He understood its essential nature, and expressly repudiated it.

But perhaps the difference between Channing's philosophy and that of the transcendentalists is nowhere better indicated than in his criticism of Theodore Parker's sermon, "The Transient and the Permanent in Christianity." Writing to Miss Peabody in 1841, a year before his death, Channing says of it:

I grieved that he did not give some clear, direct expression of his belief in the Christian miracles. His silence under such circumstances makes me fear that he does not believe them. I see not how the rejection of these can be separated from the rejection of Jesus Christ. . . . There is not a trace of a time when he existed in men's minds without them. . . . Without miracles the historical Christ is gone. . . . Reduce Christianity to a set of abstract ideas, sever it from its teacher, and it ceases to be "the power of God unto salvation."³⁰

It has been advanced as evidence of Channing's sympathy with transcendentalism that he pleaded for toleration of Parker's views, and for his right to express himself fully. Naturally Channing would have done so, for belief in religious and intellectual liberty, in the untrammelled expression of ideas, was a vital part of his creed.³¹ But it is evident from the above passage that he did not agree with Parker's ideas.

III

So far we have been chiefly concerned with Channing's opinion of transcendentalism and its adherents. We may next consider the opinions of some of the major transcendentalists with regard to Channing. Goddard writes:

That his influence on the transcendentalists was so powerful and their sympathy for him so great—Emerson called him "our Bishop"—is the surest proof of the transcendentalism of his own nature.³²

This reference to Emerson's words is based on a stray remark attributed to Emerson by Miss Peabody.³³ It would seem more

³⁰ Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, *Reminiscences of Rev. Wm. Ellery Channing, D.D.* (Boston, 1880), pp. 423 ff.

³¹ Channing, *Memoir*, II, 359 f.

³² Goddard, *Studies*, p. 29.

³³ *Reminiscences*, p. 371.

satisfactory to make a systematic search of Emerson's *Works* and *Journals* for his real opinion of Channing.

Emerson was early acquainted with Channing and in the decade of the 1820's admired his preaching³⁴ so much that he asked Channing to direct his religious studies. In 1823 we find him writing in his *Journals* with regard to a sermon by Channing:

He considered God's word to be the only expounder of his works, and that Nature had always been found insufficient to teach men the great doctrines which Revelation inculcated.³⁵

In 1832 Emerson voiced his approval of Channing's discourse on war.³⁶ He was acquainted with Channing personally, and preached by invitation in Channing's pulpit.³⁷ In 1837 he remarks casually in his *Journals* that Channing had called upon him, but he notes nothing but the fact itself.³⁸ At another time he records that Channing was present at a meeting of the Concord literati.³⁹

In view of Emerson's long acquaintance with Channing, the most striking fact, perhaps, about his references to the great preacher is their infrequency and their casual character. Only in seven entries in his *Journals* does Emerson mention Channing, and when he does, his comments, as we have seen, are brief and mostly matter-of-fact. He does not indicate that Channing had ever particularly influenced his thinking, nor does there appear definite evidence to that effect in Emerson's writing. We have seen that Emerson thought highly of the literary merits of Channing's essays on Napoleon and Milton, and he expressed admiration for Channing's Christian character.⁴⁰ It was in this, however, rather than in the field of ideas, that Emerson thought Channing's excellence lay. After the death of Channing, Emerson referred to him as "the star of the American Church," but he immediately added: "He could never be reported, for his eye and voice could not be printed, and his discourses lose their best in losing them."⁴¹ And he wrote in his *Journals*: "I think Doctor Channing was intellectual by dint of his fine moral sentiment, and not primarily."⁴² That Emerson showed

³⁴ James E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1893), I, 105.

³⁵ Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes (eds.), *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Boston, 1909), I, 290 f.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 456.

³⁷ *Journals*, IV, 236.

⁴⁰ *Journals*, VI, 284 ff. *Works*, X, 440.

⁴² *Journals*, VI, 271.

³⁷ Emerson, *Works*, X, 575 n.

³⁹ *Works*, X, 340 f.

⁴¹ Emerson, *Works*, X, 339.

a genuine personal regard for Channing as a preacher does not mean that he agreed with, or was influenced by, Channing's ideas, for Emerson showed the same regard for Dr. Nathaniel Frothingham, whom he praised and invited to the meeting at his home in Concord which resulted in the formation of the "Transcendental Club." And Frothingham was an avowed Unitarian, genuinely suspicious of the transcendental movement.⁴³

Theodore Parker also knew Channing well, and after Channing's death wrote an essay about him. However, Parker's praise for Channing, high though it is, commends in him the same qualities as did Emerson; namely, his high moral and religious personality.⁴⁴ "His life was eminently useful and beautiful."⁴⁵ But in estimating the value and nature of Channing's thought, Parker again is strikingly in accord with Emerson. Channing's "eminence came from no extraordinary intellectual gift. . . ."⁴⁶ "He was not eminently original either in thought or in the form thereof; not rich in ideas."⁴⁷ Plainly it was not Channing's philosophy that Parker applauded.⁴⁸

As for Thoreau, in the twenty-volume *Walden* edition of his writings there appears to be no reference of any sort to Dr. Channing.⁴⁹ Yet Thoreau was immersed in transcendental philosophy during the last years of Channing's life, while Channing was well known in Concord. It seems certain that Thoreau must have been acquainted with the thought of the elder Channing, and equally certain that he was not particularly impressed by it.

Comments like those by Emerson and Parker indicate that their authors were as well aware of the intellectual separation between themselves and Channing as Channing was. As cultivated men of religious and philosophical temperament, the transcendentalists and Channing had various common interests, and they appear generally

⁴³ Octavius B. Frothingham, *Boston Unitarianism, 1820-1850: A Study of the Life and Work of Nathaniel Langdon Frothingham* (New York, 1890), p. 59 ff.

⁴⁴ George W. Cooke (ed.), *The Writings of Theodore Parker* (Centenary ed., Boston, 1907), VIII, 141-171.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, VIII, 171.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, VIII, 139.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, VIII, 140.

⁴⁸ The transcendentalists paid homage to the same qualities in Channing of personal goodness and humanitarianism that were most admired by non-transcendentalist writers such as Lowell, Longfellow, and Whittier (John White Chadwick, *William Ellery Channing: Minister of Religion*, Boston, 1903, pp. 423-426, 343, 353). It seems plain that the transcendentalists' regard for Channing was not for any virtues or ideas peculiar to transcendentalism.

⁴⁹ *The Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (Walden ed., Boston, 1906).

to have admired one another. But their philosophies were not in accord. Channing was interested solely in a purer Christianity. He was not a transcendentalist. He rejected Unitarianism with the words we have already seen: "I . . . stand aloof from all but those . . . who look for a purer and more effectual manifestation of Christian truth." These words express Channing's fundamental philosophy, a philosophy which forced him to stand as far aloof from that of the transcendentalists as it did from the orthodoxy of the Unitarians.

POE AND THE CHESS AUTOMATON

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IT WAS GRISWOLD who wrote in his *Memoir* of Poe that the stories of ratiocination had been thought "more ingenious" than they were, that there was about them, besides a method, an "air of method." The fate of the unfriendly Griswold at the hands of subsequent scholars has been so forlorn, the praise of Poe has been for over fifty years so sustained on almost every score, that the present writer only with a certain diffidence in nonconformity ventures this nibble at Poe's ratiocinative reputation, in the way of a study of his essay "Maelzel's Chess-Player."

"The essay on the Automaton *cannot be answered*, and we have heard the Editor challenges a reply from Maelzel himself, or from any source whatever. The piece has excited great attention." Such was the comment of the *Norfolk Herald*, quoted by Poe in the "Supplement" to the July issue of the *Messenger*. Applause is quoted from six other papers too—the *Baltimore Gazette*, the *Baltimore Patriot*, the *United States Gazette*, the *Charleston Courier*, the *Winchester Virginian*. Only one, the *New Yorker*, finds a fault—that too much space is sacrificed to the essay.¹

Forty-four years later the biographer Ingram gave the literary world the following opinion: "The poet demonstrated by clear, concise, and irrefutable arguments, that the machine then being exhibited before the citizens of Richmond must be regulated in its operation by *mind*—that, in fact, it was no automaton at all, but simply a piece of mechanism guided by human agency."² Next, Woodberry, after a somewhat more critical examination, wrote in a state of indecision. Poe "demonstrated that Maelzel's Chess Player must be operated by human agency, and solved the methods used." But on the same page, the essay "has been vastly overrated, as anyone may convince himself by comparing it minutely with Sir David Brewster's 'Letters on Natural Magic,' to which it stands confessedly

¹ *Southern Literary Messenger*, II, 518-523 (July, 1836). The essay on the "Chess-Player" had appeared in the April issue (II, 318-326).

² John H. Ingram, *Edgar Allan Poe, His Life, Letters and Opinions* (London, 1880), I, 135.

obliged, and from which it is partly paraphrased.”³ Poe’s most romantic biographer writes as follows: “Chief of these essays was *Maelzel’s Chess-Player* in which he exposed the method by which a dummy chessman, that had gone the rounds of American cities winning games from living opponents, was operated. Many persons had been more mystified than amused by the manoeuvres of the automatic man, and the *exposé*, although only partly correct, created quite a little furor. It was the first of Poe’s work in which he emerged as the unerring abstract reasoner, and foreshadowed the method he followed later in his detective stories such as the *Murders in the Rue Morgue*.”⁴

The purpose of this article is to insist, more specifically than seems yet to have been done, that the essay on the automaton “has been vastly overrated,” that it was “only partly correct,” to add that it was based on no original thinking, and hence to suggest that so far as Poe emerges from it as anything at all, it is not as an “unerring abstract reasoner,” but as an artist with a certain method.

There were two chief mysteries presented by the automaton. First, if one assumed, as most writers did, that there was a human player within, how was he concealed during the opening of the doors and drawer? Secondly, how was this player aware of the moves of his adversary made by Maelzel on the top of the chest, and how did he direct the automaton’s arm in making his own moves? With the second of these Poe’s only connection is that he was ignorant of the solution. The fact that the correct solution had been both guessed and betrayed before April, 1836, is not the pith of this argument, for Poe had no periodical indexes foreign or domestic, and if, unaware of the most recent publications, he had reasoned honestly to an independent solution, there would be no

³ George E. Woodberry, *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1909), I, 178. Woodberry wrote more specifically but not so happily (*The Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Edmund Clarence Stedman and George Edward Woodberry, Chicago, 1895, IX, 315): “The portions other than those pertaining to the analysis of the Chess-Player are from Sir David Brewster’s ‘Lectures [*sic*] on Natural Magic,’ partly in acknowledged quotation, partly in close paraphrase. . . . The analysis itself follows closely Brewster’s method, but is more exact and detailed, and adds much to the explanation. The pamphlet, of which the solution is given by Brewster, and which Poe identifies with an article in a ‘Baltimore weekly paper,’ possibly the ‘Saturday Visiter,’ to which Poe contributed, has not been found; but, doubtless, Brewster’s account is accurate, and it would appear probable from Poe’s language that he did not himself write it, although perhaps it directed his attention to the theme.”

⁴ Hervey Allen, *Israfel: The Life and Times of Edgar Allan Poe* (New York, 1934), I, 323-324.

obstacle to his credit. Still some notice of the real working of the automaton is necessary—to make clear Poe's debt to a source that was only partly correct.

The method of conducting the game, by a kind of pantograph and by magnetized chessmen, had been approximated as early as 1789 in a pamphlet written by Joseph Friedrich, Freiherr zu Racknitz.⁵ And both the method of conducting the game and that of concealing the player within the chest had been completely exposed, almost two years before Poe's essay, in an article appearing in *Le Magasin pittoresque*,⁶ based on a betrayal of the secret by Mouret, a Parisian chessplayer, who was at one time the operator of the machine.⁷ In 1838 Maelzel died in passage from Havana to Philadelphia; the automaton was bought at auction in Philadelphia and resold to Dr. John Kearsley Mitchell, Professor in the Jefferson College of Medicine, who together with a group of friends rehabilitated it, operated it till the novelty was gone, then deposited it in the Chinese Museum in Philadelphia, where it was destroyed by fire on July 5, 1854.⁸ By 1857 Dr. Mitchell had dictated an account⁹ of the construction and operation of the automaton, which was published in the *Chess Monthly*. This remains not only the most authoritative but the clearest statement and together with the article in the *Magasin pittoresque*, which it completely corroborates, constitutes the extant evidence of how the automaton actually worked.

The chest was divided into two apartments above, and a drawer beneath. In the smaller apartment, occupying about a third of the longitudinal dimensions of the box, was placed a number of pieces of brass, made very

⁵ *Über den Schachspieler des Herrn von Kempelen und dessen Nachbildung* (Leipsic and Dresden, 1789), esp. pp. 33-44 and plates.

⁶ *Le Magasin pittoresque*, publié sous la direction de MM. Euryale Cazeaux et Edouard Charton (20 Livraison, 1834), II, 155.

⁷ G[eorge] W[alker], "Anatomy of the Chess Automaton," *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, XIX, 728 (June, 1839); and G[eorge] A[llen], "The History of the Automaton Chess-Player in America," *The Book of the First American Chess Congress*, ed. Daniel Willard Fiske (New York, 1859), p. 423 n.

⁸ George Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 474-484.

⁹ George Allen (*op. cit.*, p. 480 n) says that Dr. John Kearsley Mitchell dictated an explanation which was communicated to the *Chess Monthly*. The two parts of the article in the *Chess Monthly* are unsigned, but in the index are credited to "S. W. Mitchell," doubtless S. Weir Mitchell, son of John Kearsley. See *Dictionary of American Biography*. George Allen's fine collection of chess books was purchased after his death by the Library Company of Philadelphia and is now at the Ridgway Branch. Here also S. Weir Mitchell deposited a box containing newspaper clippings and manuscripts about the automaton and a small chessboard and pattern of the knight's tour which would seem to be relics of the famous machine.

thin, and designed only for the purpose of deception. . . . Behind this movable back of the drawer, there was therefore left an unoccupied space of the whole length of the chest, and rather more than a foot in breadth. In this trough was fixed an iron railroad . . . upon which was placed a low seat. . . . The left arm of the Turk, part of a pentograph, communicated, through his body, with the interior of the chest, where, by means of a lever, the operator, concealed within it, was enabled to give every desired motion to the arm, hand, and fingers of the figure. . . . On the under side of the chest appeared a chess-board directly beneath that upon the upper surface. . . . The squares were numbered from one to sixty-four, under each of which hung a little lever, well balanced, to which was attached a small disk of iron. These disks, when attracted by magnets [one in each chess-man], placed on top of the box, swung up into the excavations and remained there quietly until liberated by the removal of the magnets, when they vibrated for some seconds like a well-hung bell. In front of the operator was placed . . . another chess-board. . . . This was also numbered to correspond exactly to that above his head, and was perforated by holes . . . in order to prevent the possibility of his chess-men being disarranged.¹⁰

Poe makes much of his reasoning that the automaton cannot be a pure automaton, that only a human mind can act with the endless variety necessary to make the choices of a chess game.¹¹ Again, he suspects that the operator of the machine was a certain assistant of Maelzel's, Schlumberger, during whose illness, on a former visit to Richmond, the automaton did not play.¹² The truth is that Schlumberger *was* the "director" of the automaton in most of its American exhibitions.¹³ But how Poe guessed, or knew, it, is an-

¹⁰ "The Last of a Veteran Chess Player," *Chess Monthly: An American Chess Serial*, ed. Daniel Willard Fiske, I, 41-44 (Feb., 1857). Two significant passages I quote later in a more specific connection.

The most scholarly treatment of the subject is the extensive bibliography in Antonius van der Linde, *Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels* (Berlin, 1874), II, 339-352. But van der Linde, although he describes the *Magasin pittoresque* and *Chess Monthly* articles, has not seen either and is consequently inaccurate in his notion of the true solution. The history of writings on the automaton both before and after Poe is one of complicated plagiarism, misinterpretation, and irresponsibility which I have been able only to hint at within the limit of this article.

¹¹ *Works of Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison (New York, 1902), XIV, 9-11. All references to the "Essay" are to this edition.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹³ George Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 436 ff. Schlumberger, an Alsatian imported from the chess cafes of Paris, was actually ill during a visit of the automaton to Richmond in August and September, 1834. The second visit, during which apparently Poe gathered the data for his excellent description of a performance, took place in December, 1835, and January, 1836 (*ibid.*, p. 463 n).

other matter. This seems the place to glance at a possibility that long before Poe wrote of the automaton he had ample testimony not only that a man was concealed in the machine but that it was Schlumberger.

About the end of May, 1827, while Maelzel was exhibiting in Baltimore, two boys actually saw Schlumberger emerge from the automaton after a performance and recognized him.¹⁴ On Friday, June 1, the Baltimore *Federal Gazette* carried the following:

The Chess Player Discovered. This ingenious contrivance of M. Kempele . . . has at length been discovered. . . . an accidental circumstance exposed . . . the concealed agent as he emerged from the case, just after the conclusion of an exhibition of the Automaton.¹⁵

Four days later the *Gazette* was more circumstantial:

The Automaton Chess Player. The Editor of the United States Gazette expresses some doubt as to the discovery of the Agent in the Box or Table . . . because we did not vouch for it in our paper of Friday last. . . . It was not necessary *here* to vouch for a fact which was very generally known, and as generally believed. Two persons, one in his fifteenth, the other in his nineteenth year, at the same time witnessed the transaction. . . . We take this opportunity of noticing an observation made by the Editor of the Baltimore Republican on Saturday last, "that the boy who states he made the discovery demanded money for disclosing it. . . ." When the report had partially circulated of the discovery of the concealed Chess Player, a number of curious enquirers successively pressed for a relation of the circumstances, until it became "very annoying" to the elder youth, who was tired of telling "the oft repeated tale," and to his employer, whose business was interrupted by so many curious intruders.¹⁶

And on the following day the *Gazette* reverted to the topic again, this time in answer to a gibe in the *New York Commercial Adver-*

¹⁴ George Allen (*op. cit.*, pp. 451-452) says they were standing on the roof of a shed in the rear of the building where Maelzel exhibited, that after the performance the automaton was wheeled into a back room and the top lifted, upon which Schlumberger climbed out. As it was a hot day, Maelzel had thrown the shutters of the room open; the boys saw everything clearly. I have been unable to find any contemporary notices which are so specific. Yet from the newspaper items which I quote it is evident that something of the sort happened. Allen gives a circumstantial history (pp. 436 ff.) of Schlumberger's connection with the automaton. There is no reason to doubt that it was he who was seen, though how much his name was connected with the story that went around is doubtful.

¹⁵ *Federal Gazette*, June 1, 1827, p. 2, col. 5.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1827, p. 2, col. 3.

tiser.¹⁷ There can be little doubt that the affair received some notice outside Baltimore and within the city was commonly discussed. The diary of Robert Gilmore, Baltimore merchant and art patron (1774-1848), offers a fortunate illustration. On May 12 and 16 of this year Gilmore discusses the mystery of the automaton. On May 23 he attends an exhibition and thinks there is an "assistant" within the chest. Then on June 1 comes the revelation.

Called in for a moment at Meredith's to talk of the recent discovery by a boy, of the secret of Maelzel's Automaton Chess Player; which was as we all suspected moved by a man concealed in the Machine.¹⁸

Poe, of course, was not in Baltimore at this time; he was in Boston, publishing *Tamerlane and Other Poems*.¹⁹ But his brother Henry Poe *was* in Baltimore—at least about this time.²⁰ Henry Poe's first contribution to the *North American* appeared in No. 11, July 28.²¹ In No. 18, September 15, he published "The Happiest Day," taken from Edgar's *Tamerlane*,²² so that it is certain that by that time the brothers had been in communication. There is no proof that this had taken place as early as the exposure of the automaton, but it is not unlikely. The two had been together in Richmond, on good terms, in 1825. In March, 1827, Edgar fled from Richmond. Probably in May or June he published *Tamerlane*.²³ "It is known that he sent out several copies of *Tamerlane* from Boston."²⁴ It would have been curious had he waited until September to send one to his brother.

The question overlaps oddly with the fact that in the first number of the *North American*, May 19, appeared an article on the "Automaton Chess Player." One cannot be sure that this is what Poe refers to when he writes: "His Essay was first published in a

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1827, p. 2, col. 3. George Allen (*op. cit.*, p. 452) says the *National Intelligencer*, of Washington, D. C., believed the *Gazette* article was a publicity trick of Maelzel's, and that other papers then kept silent.

¹⁸ "Diary of Robert Gilmore," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVII, 332, 333, 337, 341 (Dec., 1922). I owe this reference to the kindness of Mr. Louis H. Dielman, Librarian of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

¹⁹ Hervey Allen and Thomas Ollive Mabbott, *Poe's Brother* (New York, 1926), pp. 78-79.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 92. It is barely conceivable that a copy of *Tamerlane* might have come into Henry's hands without Edgar's knowledge. But a week later Edgar's co-operation is clear, for "Dreams," in No. 23, has corrections that must be due to Edgar himself (*ibid.*, pp. 49-51, 92).

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78-81.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

Baltimore weekly paper, was illustrated by cuts, and was entitled 'An attempt to analyze the Automaton Chess-Player of M. Maelzel.'"²⁵ The article in the *North American* has only one cut; however, Poe may well have remembered it but vaguely. The title in the *North American* is simpler, but what more natural than that Poe should have given it approximately the title he had before him, that of the pamphlet to which Sir David Brewster refers?²⁶ Unless someone points out another such article in another Baltimore weekly, there must be a strong presumption that it was to this Poe made a confused reference—in his effort to appear acquainted with the bibliography of the automaton.²⁷ Mr. Allen and Professor Mabbott have suggested the connection by reproducing a page of Poe's essay, with his illustration, and following that the first two pages of the first number of the *North American*, containing the automaton essay in full.²⁸

The essay in the *North American*, as it derives from the same stock as Poe's ideas, leads us conveniently to the last part of our discourse. The "original," the source, the fountainhead, of the already widespread ideas which Poe adopted—the anonymous pamphlet referred to by Brewster—was: *An Attempt to Analyse the Automaton Chess Player of Mr. De Kempelen. With an Easy Method of Imitating the Movements of that Celebrated Figure. Illustrated by Original Drawings. To Which is Added a Copious Collection of the Knight's Moves over the Chess Board. London. Printed for J. Booth. . . . 1821. 40 pp.* The author of the pamphlet was a young man twenty-one years old, Robert Willis, later Jacksonian Professor of applied mathematics at the University of Cambridge.²⁹ In the same year this anonymous

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

²⁶ Sir David Brewster, *Letters on Natural Magic, Addressed to Sir Walter Scott, Bart.* (New York, c. 1832), *Harper's Stereotyped Edition* (on binding, *The Family Library*, No. 50), p. 248. Cf. note 48. Brewster speaks of "a pamphlet, entitled 'An Attempt to analyse the automaton chess-player of M. Kempelen'"—which of course was nearly the correct title of the pamphlet to which he was referring.

²⁷ It is extremely improbable that any article on the automaton appeared in a Baltimore paper before its visit there in 1827. Woodberry's suggestion that the article had appeared in the *Saturday Visitor* (cf. note 3) could perhaps be tested thoroughly by the file of the *Visitor* owned by the Cloud family. (See Hervey Allen, *Israfel*, New York, 1926, I, 350, n. 448.) But the discovery of such an article could not add to or detract from Poe's credit for originality. I think it is plain from what is said above and from what follows that whatever he had seen he did not remember it or rely on it, but drew entirely from Brewster.

²⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.

²⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Robert Willis (1800-1875).

pamphlet was reviewed in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, one of the editors of which was Sir David Brewster. The review, with extracts and eleven figures of the automaton, was in effect a second publication of Willis's well-reasoned, but only partially correct, solution.³⁰

Six years later, during the first tour of the automaton in America, there were at least three more republications of the same solution. The automaton came to America in April, 1826, and after a short stay in New York, moved to Boston, where it remained until the end of October³¹ and provoked *The History and Analysis of the Supposed Automaton Chess Player*,³² a pamphlet with diagrams taken, perhaps through an intermediate account, from Willis, and drawing on the solution of Willis and on some intermediate account of a misinterpretation of Racknitz which had appeared in Hutton's *Philosophical and Mathematical Dictionary*.³³ Not many months later, in March, 1827, Poe himself, let us recall, was in Boston.

The automaton moved on to Philadelphia, and the *Franklin Journal and American Mechanics' Magazine* for February, 1827, published "Some Observations upon the Automaton Chess Player,"³⁴ an article which included the elements of Willis's solution and mentioned both the review in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal* and the Boston pamphlet. It employed one simplified diagram, with but three letters. By May the automaton had moved on to Baltimore, and the *North American* published its article, borrowing both diagram and text from the *Franklin Journal*.

In 1832 Sir David Brewster published his *Letters on Natural Magic, Addressed to Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, in which, perhaps reminded of Willis's pamphlet from his editing of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, he drew again on the same source, giving the title, though not the name of the author, which he may not have known. And this brings us to Poe.

There is no reason to suppose that Poe drew on any writing but that of Sir David Brewster. He does not pretend to have seen Brewster's source, the pamphlet, but only its "original" in a Balti-

³⁰ *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, IV, 393-398 (April, 1821).

³¹ For the itinerary of the automaton, see George Allen, *op. cit.*, pp. 435, 442, 447.

³² George Allen's copy, the only one I have located, is at the Ridgway Branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

³³ See note 35.

³⁴ *Franklin Journal and American Mechanics' Magazine*, III, 125-132 (Feb., 1827).

more paper, and this if it was the *North American* article, we have already seen he could hardly have remembered very well. Concerning the pamphlet of 1789 by the Freiherr zu Racknitz, Poe has plainly learned everything from Brewster.³⁵ The same is true of the "large pamphlet printed at Paris in 1785 . . . the first attempt of which we ourselves have any knowledge";³⁶ and the same, of Poe's history of the automaton, its invention in 1769 by Baron von Kempelen of Presburg in Hungary, its exhibition in Presburg, Paris and Vienna, its visit to London in 1783 and 1784, von Kempelen's calling it a *bagatelle*.³⁷ Poe's knowledge that "the plume

³⁵ Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 19, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 247. Cf. note 5. Brewster's description, including the quotation, is taken from the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* (Edinburgh, 1830), II, 65, of which he himself was the editor. The article in the *Encyclopedia* professes to have drawn (through an intermediate work, I think. Cf. above, p. 145) on an account by Thomas Collinson in a "Supplement to Hutton's Mathematical Dictionary, Art. Automaton." I have not seen the edition of Hutton's *Encyclopedia* with the "Supplement," but in the article "Automaton" in the edition of 1815, the account of the chess-player is quoted from Collinson, who, it appears, had a slight acquaintance with Kempelen and Racknitz but was ignorant of German. His "boy . . . thin and small . . . concealed in a drawer almost immediately under the chess-board" is a misinterpretation too complicated to be treated here (Charles Hutton, *A Philosophical and Mathematical Dictionary*, London, 1815, I, 194). Brewster makes the "thin and small" boy "thin and tall." Poe acquires from him this mistake, the original misinterpretation, and the amusing "Mr. Freyhere."

³⁶ Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 19, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 247. This "pamphlet" is Decremps, *La Magie blanche dévoilée* (Paris, 1784), a volume of 287 pages. George Allen's copy, the only one I have located, is at the Ridgway Branch of the Philadelphia Library Company. Decremps's solution is plainly what Brewster and Poe are describing.

³⁷ Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-248. It is worth noting that Poe omits a second visit to England in 1819-1820 (the occasion of Willis's *Attempt*) and attaches Maelzel's name to the 1783-1784 visit, where it does not belong. It was Maelzel who brought the automaton to England in 1819-1820 (H. J. R. Murray, *History of Chess*, Oxford, 1913, p. 877). Poe's account of the other automata, the coach of Camus, the magician of Maillardet, the duck of Vaucanson, the calculating machine of Babbage (pp. 6-9), he seems to have taken also from Brewster. He admits the debt for the first three, and the fourth is there too; they are all in the same Letter as the chess automaton (Letter XI, pp. 241-243, 256-257, 263-267). "We copy the following account of it [Maillardet's magician] from the *Letters* before mentioned of Dr. B., who derived his information principally from the *Edinburgh encyclopedia*" (Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 7). We must not assume from this that Poe had seen the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*—not even when he adds, "Under the head *Androides* in the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* may be found a full account of the principal automata of ancient and modern times" (p. 9 n). Brewster had put a footnote to his account of Maillardet's magician: "See the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, Art. *Androides*, vol. II, p. 66" (p. 257 n). Brewster's Letter XI begins with an account of ancient automata; and in the same letter (p. 260) there is a second mention of the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*—besides a few more in other parts of the book—ample premises for Poe to guess that most of the Letter on automata was from the *Encyclopedia*. (It is to be remembered, however, that Willis's solution was not in the *Encyclopedia*. See *Edinburgh Encyclopedia*, Edinburgh, 1830, II, 64-65, "Androides.") Finally, had Poe turned to the *Encyclopedia* and found that the editor was none

... on the automaton's turban was not originally worn"³⁸ he could easily have got from the diagrams in Brewster. His note that "The making the Turk pronounce the word *echec*, is an improvement by M. Maelzel" could have been gathered from Brewster,³⁹ though what he adds, "the figure originally indicated a *check* by rapping on the box with his right hand," came from some other source, for Brewster says it shook its head thrice. Poe's idea might have been picked up as easily at the exhibition room as anywhere else. I have found it in no other writing.⁴⁰

We come then to consider how much of his solution Poe owed to Brewster; and the answer is: almost everything, all that was correct, as well as much that was incorrect. As far as Brewster is right, Poe is right. Where Brewster is wrong, Poe is wrong. He who likes may compare point for point the opening of the three front doors, of the drawer, of the two back doors, the successive postures assumed by the operator within the box.⁴¹ The mere X-ray like diagrams in Brewster, the shadowy figure of the man, first bent forward, then sitting upright, then up in the body of the Turk, shout the story. The fact that according to Brewster the operator extended his own left arm into that of the Turk, while according to Poe he brought his right arm across his chest to actuate some machinery, makes no difference—both were wrong. Poe has the operator's legs behind the drawer only when it is pulled out, and in a footnote calls attention to Brewster's "untenable" supposition that the drawer is a false drawer and does not extend to the back of the box. Brewster was nearer to the truth than he. "The drawer, which when drawn out, seemed to be of the entire hori-

other than David Brewster, LL.D., it would have seemed pointless to accuse Brewster of deriving his information "principally from the Edinburgh Encyclopedia."

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁹ Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, p. 17 n, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁴⁰ Or perhaps Poe has remembered confusedly something from the *North American* article: "The right hand rests upon the table, and if a false move be made, the figure notices it by striking this hand repeatedly upon the table, and shaking his head" (p. 2). There is good evidence that Brewster gives the correct account of how the figure originally gave check. Racknitz, who says he has observed the automaton carefully (p. 3), writes: "Both die Figur dem Könige Schach: so neigte sie dreimal, bei Schach der Königin nur zweimal, den Kopf" (p. 9). (See note 5.) Windisch, an early and circumstantial firsthand reporter, writes: "Beym Schache der Königin nickt er zweymal, so, wie bey dem Schache dem Könige dreymal mit dem Kopfe; bey einem falschen Gange aber schüttelt er denselben" (Karl Gottlieb von Windisch, *Briefe über den Schachspieler*, Basel, 1783, pp. 31-32).

⁴¹ Cf. Poe, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24, and Brewster, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-255.

zontal dimensions of the chest, was also deceptive, as its back end was so constructed as to move upon wheels, by means of which it did not press backwards with the sides more than a foot and a half."⁴²

Having adopted the explanation of Sir David Brewster, Poe alleges as the foundation of his "result" seventeen "observations taken during frequent visits to the exhibition."⁴³ Some of them are acute

⁴² *Chess Monthly*, I, 42 (Feb., 1857). Cf. note 10.

⁴³ 1. The moves of the Turk are made at irregular intervals. Since it would have been easy to limit the time allowed to the opponent for each move, and, if the automaton were a pure automaton, to set its replies at a fixed interval, and since this would favor the operation of a pure automaton, the irregularity argues a human agency. (This argument is not in Brewster.) 2. When the automaton is about to make a move, the drapery over the left shoulder may be seen in agitation. If the opponent retract his move, even before Maelzel retracts the move on the automaton's board, the movement of the arm will be withheld. (Since the operator was not looking through the chest of the Turk, as Poe supposed, but depended for his information on Maelzel's moves on the board on the chest, it would appear that Poe's imagination beguiled him.) 3. A pure machine would win all games; but the automaton does not. (Not in Brewster.) 4. The Turk shakes his head and rolls his eyes only when the game is easy, i.e., when the operator has time to think about it. (Not in Brewster.) 5. When the doors in the trunk of the Turk were opened and the automaton was swung around, it seemed to Poe that pieces of machinery within shifted their position—an effect which he attributed to mirrors. (Again imagination—induced by his notion that the operator sat up in the trunk of the Turk.) 6. The appearance and movements of the automaton are artificial and awkward, not natural, like those of the rope-dancers and other automata of Maelzel; this is to support the illusion of pure mechanical operation. (Not in Brewster.) 7. When the automaton is wound up, the sound is not like that of an axis connected with "either a weight, a spring, or any system of machinery whatever." (Brewster quotes from his source [Willis]: ". . . the axis turned by the key is quite free and unconnected either with a spring or weight, or any system of machinery" [*op. cit.*, p. 253]. Poe argued from the sound of the turning axis. Willis had argued from the fact that widely varying numbers of moves were the result of windings of the same length [*op. cit.*, pp. 20-21]—perhaps a better argument.) Maelzel will never directly affirm that the automaton is a pure machine. (Not in Brewster.) 8. When Maelzel holds the candle at the rear of cupboard No. 1 and the automaton is wheeled about, the machinery to the rear of the cupboard seems to move—evidence that it is swung out of position when the man straightens up into that space. (Not in Brewster. Perhaps the machinery did move; it was movable, but not for the reason Poe supposed. The player prepared to *play the game* by "swinging the whole interior furniture—wheels, partitions, and all—against the outer doors and walls of the box, so as to throw all the subdivisions into one large apartment" [S. W. Mitchell, *loc. cit.*, p. 4. Cf. note 10.]) 9. He corrects Brewster's statement that the Turk is only life-size. 10. The chest is designed so as to seem to have less capacity than it has. (Not in Brewster.) 11. The cloth which lines the interior of the main compartment is in places a false partition, easily removed. (Poe indulges in the same weakness for which he berates Brewster so severely—speculating on the interior arrangements. The Brewster solution makes much the same use of the cloth. It is not clear from Mitchell's explanation just how near either Poe or Brewster is to the truth; each is at least partly wrong.) 12. The antagonist is seated away from the automaton, lest he detect the breathings of the man within. (Not in Brewster.) 13. Maelzel occasionally deviates from his routine of showing the interior of the box, but never in any essential. (An attempt to refine on Brewster's argument: "This ingenious explanation of the chess automaton is, our author states,

and well applied, but these all tend to establish, not the way the machine worked, but, as Poe confesses in a footnote, the fact, already amply established, that the machine must be regulated by *mind*. Willis had given sufficient attention to this preliminary matter. Sir David Brewster had assumed it was obvious and dwelt on it but momentarily.⁴⁴

It remains to be said that Poe's consciousness of his debt to Brewster is best proved by his studied attempts at disparagement. The long complaint beginning with "The solution consists in a series of minute explanations"⁴⁵ is but a red herring. "It was altogether unnecessary," he says, "to devote seven or eight pages for the purpose of proving what no one in his senses would deny—viz.: that the wonderful mechanical genius of Baron Kempelen could invent the necessary means for shutting a door or slipping

greatly confirmed by the *regular and undeviating* mode of disclosing the interior of the chest" [*op. cit.*, p. 253]. Poe's example, "he never opens the main compartment without first pulling out the drawer," etc., is probably not significant, for as we have seen, the back of the drawer moved on rollers, and the operator's legs could have been behind it even, when it was closed.) 15. There are six candles on the chest before the Turk, to enable the operator to see through the material, "probably fine gauze," of the Turk's chest. The candles are of different heights to prevent by the dazzle of the crossing rays, the spectators' having a clear view of the gauze chest. (Wide of the mark.) 16. About Schlumberger. (See above, pp. 141-143.) Also, a story about an Italian in the suite of Baron von Kempelen, suspected of being the operator, ill once at a time when the automaton did not play. (I have not seen this in any other account. Poe might have heard it in the gossip of the exhibition room, or he might have invented it without much fear of contradiction.) 17. The Turk plays with his left arm—not by accident, but in order that the operator, sitting in the body of the Turk, may reach his right arm across his chest to operate machinery in the left shoulder of the Turk. (Again wide of the mark. Poe takes occasion to remark: "The early writers of treatises on the Automaton, seem not to have observed the matter at all, and have no reference to it. The author of the pamphlet alluded to by Brewster, mentions it, but acknowledges his inability to account for it." The first of these statements is simply irresponsible. The early writers *do* observe the matter. Racknitz's plates show a left-handed player, and he comments [p. 39] on the fact that Kempelen's is left-handed, rejects an explanation by Windisch and offers one of his own. Willis takes the matter fully into account [*op. cit.*, pp. 30-31]. If Poe's second statement could be taken as a literal reflection of his mind, it might be a clue to whether the "original" he saw was the Baltimore *North American* article, which says: "The figure plays with the left hand, which when not in action, rests upon a cushion placed near to the board" [p. 1]. But any article based on Willis's pamphlet could hardly avoid mentioning the fact at least cursorily, and Poe's addition that the author "acknowledges his inability to account for it" certainly need have been prompted by nothing more than that Poe remembered that the author did not try to account for it.)

⁴⁴ He says merely: "Upon considering the operations of the automaton, it must have been obvious that the game of chess was performed either by a person enclosed in the chest or by the exhibitor himself" (p. 246). Willis's longer treatment was repeated in a different form in the *Franklin Journal* and from that was copied in the Baltimore *North American*.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

aside a pannel." So he imposes upon the reader's imagination the concept that Brewster's article is but a tangle of arbitrary carpenter's specifications. What is but the superstructure of Brewster's account is made to seem the foundation—while the real foundation Poe has shifted into his own essay without acknowledgment.⁴⁶ Another fault which he has found is even more factitious. "It is quite impossible to arrive at any distinct conclusion in regard to the adequacy or inadequacy of the analysis, on account of the gross misarrangement and deficiency of the letters of reference employed."⁴⁷ This is a monstrous exaggeration. To begin with, if there were hardly a letter of reference in Brewster's whole explanation, the eleven figures, in which the Turk and his box are cross-sectioned and anatomized from every direction, would convey the necessary ideas with sufficient lucidity. In the second place, there is not much wrong with the letters of reference—not enough to cause an interested student more than a moment's perplexity.⁴⁸ "The same fault is to be found," says Poe, "in the Attempt &c, as we originally saw it." If the "Attempt" as he originally saw it was the article in the *North American*, then he had no possible grievance, for there were only three letters, A, B, C.

What then is the merit of Poe's essay? George Allen wrote that "it was only in favor of the great mechanician [Maelzel], that the public resolutely persisted in refusing to know a secret, which had been exposed and published a dozen times."⁴⁹ Why did Poe's "exposure" attract so much notice, win the applause of so many contemporary journals? Why was he, of all who had written on the same subject, both more and less accurately than he, singled out in the public imagination as the champion who had slain the mechanical monster? Why was it that after a few years his was the only solution that people outside of a very esoteric chess world remembered at all? George Allen, for example, must have realized perfectly Poe's little claim to originality. He had the "Essay" in his

⁴⁶ It is worth while recalling that the original work of Willis was meant not only as an analysis of the automaton but a suggestion of "An Easy Method of Imitating the Movements of that Celebrated Figure."

⁴⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴⁸ There are two editions of the *Letters* which Poe could have used, the first edition, London, 1832, John Murray; and the American edition, undated, published at New York perhaps soon after 1832, by Harper as No. 50 of the *Family Library*. (There were a number of later impressions, or perhaps issues, of both of these, with varying title-pages.) Throughout this article I have referred to the latter, as the one Poe is more likely to have used. In that I have discovered six slight errors, and in the London edition, five.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 477-478.

large collection of works on the automaton. But Ingram was apparently unaware that any such books as Allen's existed, or if he was aware, he never thought of them as possible rivals to the "clear, concise, irrefutable arguments" of Poe.

The answer, of course, is partly that Poe was Poe, and that the "Chess-Player" has been embedded in the rest of his reputation. But also there is the fact that the other men who wrote were mechanics, journalists, or editors, while Poe was a prose master. His arguments, if not "irrefutable," *were* "clear, concise," graceful and strong. It has not been the purpose of any part of this article to deny that Poe's "Essay" was a good one, in some parts—where he was right—the best exposure of the automaton ever made. Other exposures of the automaton, that of the *Magasin pittoresque*, that of Dr. Mitchell, were rooted in the world of fact, which for artistic purposes is a scrap heap. Such writings had eminently less claim to general interest than Poe's, which sprang from the ideal soil of vision. Not what *has happened*, says Aristotle, but what *may happen*. So the quarrel is not with Poe, with an illusion which succeeded, but with the evaluation of that illusion by his critics, with the common opinion of "Maelzel's Chess-Player"—which comes sometimes even to the ears of school children. Poe emerges from the "Essay" not as a detective drawing from observed facts a conclusion which squares with other facts. He emerges as an imaginative writer, with a power of making bright and acceptable the drab, mechanic guesses of writers with an eye to reality.

True wit is nature to advantage dress'd,
What *oft was thought*, but ne'er so well express'd.

POE'S FRIEND REYNOLDS

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THE FIGURE of a man that Mr. Robert Almy conjured from the past for readers of *The Colophon* in his brief biography of J. N. Reynolds¹ is one to command respect, even admiration. Reynolds, famous in his day as an advocate of polar exploration, remembered vaguely today as a man connected in some way with Poe, was not a neglected genius (as Mr. Almy observes); but the omission of his name from the ranks of many less interesting, and certainly many less important, names in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, seems strange, even inexcusable. His was the last name spoken by the dying Poe, and the sound that rang all night through the death room in the Baltimore hospital and has rung ever since on the pages of Poe biographies, rings mysteriously still for those who seek to understand the ways of the imagination and the sources of Poe's stories. Surely Poe knew Reynolds, and knew him well, for his personality to have made on Poe "an undying impression" (as Mr. Hervey Allen put it).² He must have known Reynolds far better than Mr. Almy finds necessary to assume to chart the polar regions of Poe's early tales and to explain the last agonizing cry. And there is some evidence overlooked by Mr. Almy that may be examined, and other evidence that may be examined more closely than Mr. Almy or other writers on Poe have previously examined it, to discover how well Poe may have known a man of his actual meeting with whom there is no record.

In the first place, however, all credit to Mr. Almy for recovering, or discovering, and recording the major facts of Reynolds's career, the place of his origin, his Christian name (Jeremiah, not John as the Library of Congress cards have it), the titles of his pamphlets and other publications. What is offered here is offered as a supplement to Mr. Almy's excellent article, primarily, neither by way of correction nor contradiction.

Reynolds was born in 1799, and so was ten years older than

¹ II, n.s., 227-245 (Winter, 1937).

² *Israfel* (New York, 1926), II, 419, n. 503. Dame Una Pope-Hennessy is less cautious than Mr. Allen. She writes (*Edgar Allan Poe*, London, 1934, p. 184): "Poe, fired by his friend Reynolds. . . ."

Poe, was in fact thirty-six when the brilliant young editor of the newly established *Southern Literary Messenger* published his review of Francis Glass's life of George Washington in Latin prose, with an introduction by Reynolds, in the December, 1835, issue of the *Messenger*.³ Reynolds had already appeared before the public as the proposer of an expedition "fully endorsed by [President] John Quincy Adams";⁴ he had made the sealing voyage on the *Seraph*; he had been on the frigate *Potomac* and had written the account of the voyage (published by Harper, in the summer of 1835) that Poe had come to the *Messenger* a little too late to review.⁵ Reynolds's was a well-known name.⁶ His patronage alone had brought about the publication by the established firm of Harper and Brothers of the somewhat absurd *Vita Washingtonii*, written by an unknown Ohio schoolmaster.

Poe's review of the *Vita* was written with his tongue in his cheek, but the ridicule he gently piled on the book was for the author of the *Vita*, and for the absurdity of writing the biography of a recently deceased, almost contemporary, man in an ancient and dead language; it was not for the author of the introduction. "While we agree with Mr. Reynolds, for whose opinions, generally we have a high respect. . . ."—there is no ridicule in that statement by Poe, and there is the implication, which must not be insisted on too strongly, of course, that Poe was already familiar with Reynolds's and Symmes's theory of a hollow earth and had given it—as his stories later proved—respectful consideration.

³ II, 52-54. This and other reviews quoted here are attributed to Poe by Killis Campbell (*The Cambridge History of American Literature*, II, 456-460) and other scholars.

⁴ Not noted by Mr. Almy is a letter from Reynolds to the Speaker of the House of Representatives on the subject of an Antarctic Expedition, dated Jan. 22, 1828: *House Executive Document No. 88, 20th Congress, 1st Session*, Vol. 3, printed separately by Gales and Seaton, Washington, 1828.

⁵ I, 594 (June, 1835). Poe's story "Hans Pfaall" appeared in the same number. Poe, who became editor of the *Messenger* after the resignation of Edward Vernon Sparhawk, who brought out the July, 1835, issue, had contributed earlier reviews to the *Messenger*, and a review of Bird's *The Infidel* to this very June number. But there is no reason for thinking the review of Reynolds's *Voyage* by Poe. In contrast with Poe, who wrote of "eloquent extracts" from a later work by Reynolds, the author of this review said: "He [i.e., Reynolds] writes well though somewhat too enthusiastically."

A long review of Reynolds's *Voyage of the . . . Potomac* appeared in the *Monthly Review* (London), CXXXVII, 454-464 (July, 1835). The review is a complimentary one in spite of British disparagement of evidences of American national pride.

⁶ I have found a reference in the *New York Mirror* of Sept. 5, 1835 (XIII, 78), to a fourth edition of his *Voyage*—one a month since publication. In his chapter on autography, published in Feb., 1836, Poe speaks, but perhaps facetiously, of a fifth edition. Allibone's *Dictionary* referred to an eighth edition, in 1845.

Two months later Poe, now editor, published in the *Messenger*⁷ the first of his several articles on autography, in which as a learned professor of calligraphy he set out to analyze the handwriting of well-known people. The letters were of course fictitious, though written in some approximation of the style of the men whose authentic signatures were reproduced in facsimile in connection with them. Poe, in his first essay on autography, included no primarily literary figures, but he did include such eminent men as Richard Henry Dana, Chief Justice Marshall, and Judge Story; and the inclusion of Reynolds, even in the frivolous, facetious essay, was a tribute of respect.⁸

In the August, 1836, issue of the *Messenger*⁹ Poe inserted a critical notice of the report (on March 21, 1836) of the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives. There had been referred to the committee memorials from sundry citizens of Connecticut interested in the whale fishery, praying that an exploring expedition be sent to the Pacific Ocean and the South Seas. In connection with the report and Reynolds's address before the House on April 3, 1836,¹⁰ Poe spoke of Reynolds's "nervous and emphatic language," and added "Mr. Reynolds . . . has been appointed to the highest civil situation in the [projected] expedition; a station which we know him to be exceedingly well qualified to fill." By this time surely Poe had become thoroughly familiar with the facts of Reynolds's career, with his character and with his style. And he wrote of him as one writes of a man known better than merely as a public figure.

In the January, 1837, issue of the *Messenger*—the last that Poe edited—appeared two contributions from the editor, important in the study of the relationship between Poe and Reynolds. One was the first instalment of the story "Arthur Gordon Pym," the connection of which with the theories of Reynolds Mr. Almy has adequately traced. The other was a review¹¹ of an address by Reynolds,

⁷ II, 205-212 (Feb., 1836). Reynolds's autograph is No. XVIII, on p. 211.

⁸ I note here, in chronological sequence, a reference overlooked by Mr. Almy: *New York Mirror*, XIII, 350 (April 30, 1836): "Reynolds' Lecture on Maritime Discovery."

⁹ II, 587-589.

¹⁰ Mr. Almy says April 2. The title-page of the published address gives April 3, a Saturday, which is correct.

¹¹ III, 68-72. Poe's story appeared on pp. 13-16; it was concluded in the Feb., 1836, issue. Reynolds's *Address* was also reviewed by Nathan Hale, in the *North American Review*, XLV, 361 (Oct., 1837).

delivered before Congress and published by Harper and Brothers as an *Address on . . . a Surveying and Exploring Expedition*. In the course of his long review Poe made a number of personal references to Reynolds that seem to imply personal acquaintance:

Mr. Reynolds . . . is the originator, the persevering and indomitable advocate, the life, the soul of the design. . . . He is a native of Ohio, where his family are highly respectable, and where he was educated and studied for the law. He is known, by all who know him at all, as a man of the loftiest principles and of unblemished character. . . . For ourselves, we have frequently borne testimony to his various merits as a gentleman, a writer and a scholar. . . .

Mr. Reynolds has received the highest civil post in the expedition—that of corresponding secretary. How admirably well he is qualified for [his] task, no person can know better than ourselves. His energy, his love of polite literature, his many and various attainments, and above all, his ardent and honorable enthusiasm, point him out as the man of all men for the execution of the task [of preparing for publication a record of the expedition]. . . .

And it has been said that envy and ill will have been already doing their work—that the motives and character of Mr. Reynolds have been assailed. . . . We will not insult Mr. Reynolds with a defense. Gentlemen have impugned his motives—have these gentlemen ever seen him or conversed with him half an hour?

Poe's editorial connection with the *Messenger* ended with the January, 1837, number. But Poe was not the only editor of the *Messenger* who was interested in Reynolds. In June, 1839, seven of the *Messenger's* finely printed, double-column pages were given over to J. N. Reynolds, six¹² to "A Leaf From an Unpublished Manuscript," an account of a "Visit to the Volcano of Antuco in 37° South latitude [and] Return to Los Angeles."¹³ The visit was of course made before Reynolds became secretary to Commodore Downes of the *Potomac*. The "leaf" helps to fill a lacuna in Reynolds's career noted by Mr. Almy.¹⁴

The "leaf" was followed by a republication from the New York *Enquirer* (which in turn had made extensive quotations from the Cincinnati *Republican*) of certain "documents" pertaining to the

¹² V, 408-413.

¹³ On Nov. 12; no year given. 1831?

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 241. A reference on page v of the Introduction to the *Voyage of the . . . Potomac* suggests that Reynolds had done more than merely plan a second volume to cover his experiences from the time he left New York in October, 1829, to the time he joined the *Potomac* at Valparaiso in October, 1832.

history of the South Sea Exploring Expedition.¹⁵ "We give [the documents]," wrote Thomas W. White, owner and editor of the *Messenger*, "as an act of justice to [the author of the expedition], without intending ourselves to depart from that strictly neutral ground in political controversy, which we have endeavored heretofore to maintain. We are not certain that the department did not do Mr. Reynolds a favor, under all circumstances, in withholding from him a position, which by common consent of the whole country, he had so nobly won. Without, however, saying more on our part, we give place to the paper alluded to which has lain since August last, in our drawer."

On the first page of the *Messenger* for December, 1843,¹⁶ was published a letter from Reynolds to Benjamin Blake Minor, the new editor and proprietor of the *Messenger*, dated New York, September 28, 1843. In the letter Reynolds described himself as "being at present wedded to the law." The letter alluded to a note "requesting something from my pen," and so served as introduction to another passage from Reynolds's South American adventures, "Rough Notes of Rough Adventure"¹⁷—a continuation of the paper previously published in the *Messenger*. The "leaf" and the "Rough Notes," with the better known "Mocha Dick" published in the *Knickerbocker*¹⁸ and the "Leaves from an Unpublished Journal" published in the *New York Mirror*¹⁹ (both noted by Mr. Almy) are probably all extracts from a travel volume Reynolds never published, the manuscript original of which is now lost.

From February, 1837, until August, 1838, as Mr. Almy pointed out, Poe lived in New York, "where Reynolds . . . had his headquarters. . . . During the interval the two could very well have met."^{19a} Whether they did or not, Poe did not forget Reynolds. In 1841, a resident of Philadelphia, Poe contributed to *Graham's Magazine* two papers on autography. These papers were reminiscent of the earlier, and less well-known, chapter in the *Messenger*, but the tone of these articles was wholly serious, and there were no fictitious, burlesque letters attached to the authentic signatures. It is note-

¹⁵ *S. L. M.*, V, 413-415.

¹⁶ IX, 705.

¹⁸ IX, 705-715 (May, 1839).

¹⁷ IX, 705-715.

¹⁹ XIII, 377-392 (April 21, 1838).

^{19a} Mr. David K. Jackson sends me the following reference and note: "J. F. O. [J. F. Otis], 'Currente Calamities, No. IV,' *S. L. M.*, V, 254-256 (April, 1839). Reynolds was staying at the Astor House in the spring of 1839. Otis admires Reynolds."

worthy that Reynolds was one of the few men of the original twenty-six honored by inclusion in the original article, honored again by calligraphic analysis in the second.²⁰ Nor is the Reynolds autograph reproduced here the same as that used in the *Messenger* article.²¹ But the tone of Poe's reference to Reynolds is a little more critical, a little more restrained than that of earlier references:

Mr. Reynolds occupied at one time a distinguished position in the eye of the public, on account of his great and laudable exertions to get up the American South Polar Expedition, from a personal participation in which he was most shamefully excluded. He has written much and well. Among other works, the public are indebted to him for a graphic account of the noted voyage of the frigate *Potomac* to Madagascar.

His MS. is an ordinary clerk's hand, giving no indication of character.

Two years later, when Poe came to write again on Reynolds, his old enthusiasm had returned. In the September, 1843, issue of *Graham's Magazine* Poe published a review²² of Reynolds's report on the United States exploring expedition which, lacking his former influence, Reynolds had been unable to induce a New York publisher to issue, possibly, however, because the pamphlet²³ was a reprint from the *American Journal of Arts and Sciences*, as Poe noted.

Poe gave a lengthy review of the history of the expedition. He expressed his opinion in no uncertain terms of the "scandalous chicanery practiced in the outfit of the expedition." Much that Poe had to say is important for an analysis of the temper of the times, and for one who would understand how an exploring expedition could become an issue to arouse the press of the nation. As such, Poe's review is important for the historian. For us, of prime interest are his references to Reynolds. In the opening sentence of his review Poe referred to the Reynolds Expedition, and in the last two paragraphs he wrote:

To the prime mover in this important undertaking—to the active, the intelligent, the indomitable advocate of the enterprise—to him who

²⁰ *Graham's*, XIX, 224-234 (autographs Nos. 1-41); 273-286 (autographs Nos. 42-108) (Nov.-Dec., 1841). Reynolds's autograph is No. 103. The reference in Mr. Almy's article to the *Autobiography* [sic] is of course a misprint.

²¹ The only specimen of Reynolds's handwriting which I have seen is an inscription in a copy of his book on the *Pacific and Indian Oceans* (New York, 1841), in the library of Washington University, St. Louis, Mo. It reads: "Hon John Bell, / Secy of War. / With the respects of / J. N. Reynolds."

²² XXIV, 164-165.

²³ *A Brief Account of the Discoveries and Results of the United States Exploring Expedition* (New Haven, B. L. Hamlen).

gave it birth, and who brought it through maturity, to its triumphant result, this result can afford nothing but an unmitigated pleasure. He has seen his measures adopted in the teeth of opposition, and his comprehensive views thoroughly confirmed in spite of cant, prejudice, ignorance and unbelief. For fifteen years he has contended, single-handed, in support of this good cause, against all that a jealous and miserably despicable *esprit de corps* could bring to his overthrow. He has contended, we say, single-handed, and triumphed. And well knew *we*, at least, that he would. Many years ago we maintained the impossibility of his failure. With mental powers of the highest order, his indomitable energy is precisely of that character which *will not admit* of defeat.

To him, we say—and to him in fact *solely*—does the high honor of this triumphant Expedition belong. Take from the enterprise the original impulse which *he* gave—the laborious preliminary investigation which *he* undertook—the unflinching courage and the great ability with which *he* defended it when attacked—the unwearying perseverance with which *he* urged its progress, and by which *he* finally ensured its consummation—let the Expedition have wanted all this, and what would the world have had of it but the shadow of a shade? To him, we repeat, be the glory of this important undertaking—and to those who deserve it—and who now sorely feel they deserve it—be whatever of disgrace has attached to its conduct. One thing is certain—when men, hereafter, shall come to speak of this Expedition, they will speak of it not as the American Expedition—nor even as the Poinsett Expedition, nor as the Dickerson Expedition,²⁴ nor, alas! as the Wilkes²⁵ Expedition—they will speak of it—if they speak at all—as “The Expedition of Mr. Reynolds.”²⁶

1843—and apparently the last written reference of Poe to Reynolds. Poe was thirty-four then, with only six more years of life ahead. Reynolds, already well out of the public eye, had, according to Mr. Almy, opened a law office in Wall Street in 1841. Poe could have met him, seen much of him, in his later years in New York. The meetings would not necessarily have become a part, or a source of literature, but they would have fixed in Poe’s mind—if such

²⁴ Joel R. Poinsett had succeeded Mahlon Dickerson as Secretary of the Navy.

²⁵ Mr. Almy (*op. cit.*, p. 244) incorrectly gives the Christian name of Commodore Wilkes as John instead of Charles.

²⁶ But, as Mr. Almy points out, “today the exploit is known as the Wilkes Exploring Expedition, and no subsequent Antarctic research has been conducted without reference to its findings.” See, *inter alia*, R. E. Byrd, *Little America* (New York, 1930), p. 43: “It has always seemed a pity to me that the American government failed to follow up the work of this gallant officer [i.e., Wilkes], who had the courage to undertake the great responsibility of this mission.” However, there are several references to Reynolds in *Antarctica*, by Edwin Swift Balch (Philadelphia, 1903).

fixing was necessary—the name of the man, so often and earnestly defended, to whom Poe called “from the verge of that polar chasm whose shadow was as the shadow of death and whose concentric circles led downward to the incommunicable”—to the void to which Poe descended early one Sunday morning, October 7, 1849.

Reynolds was to live nine years longer than Poe. Mr. Richard J. Duval of the United States Naval Academy Library, at Annapolis, has located a reference in the *American Almanac* for 1859, page 357, under Necrology: “August 25, 1858. In St. Catherine’s Springs, Canada, J. N. Reynolds of New York. He was author of a Journal of Commodore Wilkes’ Exploring Expedition.”²⁷ The date may prove helpful to another student, seeking to garner more facts of Reynolds’s career.

Allibone’s *Dictionary of Authors* long ago gave his bibliography, without biographical facts or critical comment. There is little to add to it, that Mr. Almy has not already added. Chiefly one would note, as of most curious interest, *Historia de la ruina de Lima y el Callao en el año 1746; traducida de las obras de Don J. N. Reynolds*. It was a translation of pages 447-462 from the author’s old familiar *Voyage of the . . . Potomac*, and it appeared as a sixteen-page pamphlet, which went through at least two editions, at Callao, Peru, in 1860. An adequate bibliography of Reynolds would be a tribute to a neglected friendship between him and one who, not only greatest among his admirers, seems on the evidence of his own writings his greatest admirer, the staunchest of his supporters.²⁸

²⁷ Communicated to the author by Mr. Duval in a letter of Aug. 28, 1933.

²⁸ For references to Reynolds in the *Southern Literary Messenger* I am indebted to Mr. David K. Jackson, who furnished me with the information before his index to the *Messenger* was published. Assistance from Mr. Richard J. Duval I have acknowledged in the body of this article.

THOMAS MORTON OF MERRY MOUNT: HIS FIRST ARRIVAL IN NEW ENGLAND

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COMMENTATORS on Thomas Morton of Merry Mount concur, almost unanimously, that he arrived in New England for the first time in June, 1622. In view of existent data, however, there is reason to believe that he first visited New England, not in 1622, but in June, 1624.

Those who have accepted the 1622 date have based their convictions upon a statement which appears in Morton's own book, *New English Canaan*, in which he says:

In the yeare since the incarnation of Christ, 1622. it was my chance to be landed in the parts of New England. . . .¹

Later, in the same work, the statement is repeated in the following words:

In the Moneth of June, Anno Salutis: 1622. It was my chaunce to arrive in the parts of New England with 30. Servants, and provision of all sorts fit for a plantation. . . .²

The only writer who has challenged the reliability of the 1622 date, Charles E. Banks, reached his conclusions after examining a number of legal papers which he came upon in England. The papers comprise the records of a series of actions (to which Morton was a party) tried in the courts of Chancery and of Star Chamber during the spring and early summer of 1622.³ From his study of the papers, Banks finally concluded that:

. . . unless we suppose that he [Morton] was out of the kingdom at this important juncture in his affairs, the statement in *New English Canaan* that he arrived in New England in June, 1622, is an error of his pen or the type.⁴

¹ Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (Amsterdam, 1637), p. 17.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

³ Charles E. Banks, "Thomas Morton of Merry Mount," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* (hereinafter abbreviated *MHSP*), LVIII, 147-193.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

While Banks by his research has shown himself to be wisely skeptical of the earlier date, he stopped short and failed to make several further and logical inferences from the material he brought to light. Based on such additional interpretation, coupled with other data, the plan of the present paper sets forth: (1) reasons for discrediting the date which appears in two places in Morton's book; (2) data tending to establish the fact that Morton's first visit to New England occurred in June, 1624.

I

In regard to the first point, an examination of the court records mentioned above affords sound reasons for concluding that Morton was in England during the spring and early summer of 1622. On June 3, 1622, Morton was named a defendant in a Bill of Complaint brought in the Star Chamber Court,⁵ and on July 6, 1622, he was himself a plaintiff in a bill brought in the same court.⁶ It is reasonable to presume, as Banks has done, that Morton would not have left the country at such a time. Further, in view of the fact that Morton was an attorney himself, it seems likely that he would have remained in England during the litigation in order to instruct the attorney who represented him how to answer the bill of June 3 and how to prepare the bill of July 6. But—more conclusively—on May 22, 1622, Morton took an oath in a Chancery Court situated in England;⁷ and, sometime between June 3 and July 6, 1622, Morton and other defendants submitted an Answer, in the Star Chamber Court, to the bill dated June 3.⁸ Now (1) the rules of procedure in operation at that time in the Chancery Court make it clear that, in order to take the oath which he did take, Morton had to be present in person in the court in England;⁹ (2) it is also clear, from the rules of procedure then in force in the Court of Star Chamber, that a defendant had to be present in person in the court at the time he submitted an Answer to a Bill of Complaint.¹⁰ All of this serves to discredit the statement in *New*

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-173.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 179-185.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 186. "Thomas Moreton and wife, plts. v. George Myller, deft 22 May 1622. Thomas Moreton made oath for serving a subpoena on deft."

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 173-179.

⁹ For proof of the fact that Morton had to be present in person in order to make an oath that he had served a subpoena, see William Tothill, "The Proceedings of the High-Court of Chancerie," an appendix to *The Transactions of the High Court of Chancery* (London, 1649), pp. 5-6.

¹⁰ That a defendant had to be present in person in the Star Chamber Court at the time he submitted an Answer, is evident from: (1) the fact that he was obliged to swear to

English Canaan that he visited New England in the spring or early summer of 1622.

Since neither Morton's manuscript nor any information regarding the circumstances surrounding the printing of it is available today, it is futile to attempt to discover precisely how the error of the date was introduced. However, considering the many typographical mistakes that are strewn through the text, it seems reasonable to suppose that this error may have crept in—together with many others—during the printing of the book.¹¹

his Answer; that is, he had to take an oath before the clerk of the court. See William Hudson, "A Treatise of the Court of Star Chamber," in *Hargrave Tracts Relative to the Law and Constitution of England* (London, 1792), pp. 167-168: "And the answer must be engrossed in parchment, and subscribed by counsel, and so brought to the clerk of the court, who is to give the defendant his oath; which is . . . and he sweareth likewise, that he shall make true answers to such interrogatories as shall be ministered unto him concerning that cause. . . . And so I conclude, that I know not any sort of people (except corporations) freed from putting in an answer in this court by oath; for the body politic is without a soul, to be tried by oath; for attornies do not make oath there, as in the ecclesiastical courts, *super animam magistri*. . . ." See also John Bruce, "An Outline of the History of the Court of Star Chamber," *Archaeologia*, XXV (1833), p. 354: "After appearance the defendant was bound to put in an answer upon oath to the plaintiff's bill. If he refused to answer he was committed to prison for a certain time; and if, at the expiration of that time, he still refused, either the bill was taken *pro confesso*, or he was retained in custody and kept upon bread and water until he answered." See also the case of Mayor of London v. Wrothe, in John Hawarde, *Les Reportes del cases in camera stellata*, ed. Baildon (Privately printed, 1894), p. 10: "And because divers of the defendants have answered but will not be sworn to their answers, [it was moved] that they be compelled to be sworn." (2) the fact that he was obliged to answer interrogatories that were put to him. See the quotation from Hudson above. See also Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-355: "When the defendant had put in his answer, the plaintiff proceeded to examine him upon written interrogatories—a practice most scandalously abused, being employed, as Hudson admits, 'like a Spanish Inquisition, to rack men's consciences, nay to perplex them by intricate questions, thereby to make contrarieties, which may easily happen to simple men; and men were examined upon a hundred interrogatories, nay and examined of the whole course of their lives'. . . . If the defendant refused to answer the interrogatories, he was committed until he consented to do so."

¹¹ There is good reason to presume that the error in the text was caused by a printer's mistake. The reader of an early seventeenth-century manuscript is confronted with a multiplicity of difficulties—arising from the varied forms of letters and numerals, the inconsistencies in spelling, the obscure abbreviations, and the pen-flourishes that were employed—which must have made the task of printing a text free from errors a most difficult one. When it is remembered that, according to the title-page of the book, the printer was situated in Amsterdam, it may readily be seen how many errors slipped into the text. For information on the "many errors both in typography and punctuation, with which the *New Canaan* abounds," see Thomas Morton, *The New English Canaan*, ed. Adams (Boston: Prince Society Publications, 1883), pp. 101-102.

For information on the handwriting of Morton's day, see Samuel A. Tannenbaum, *The Handwriting of the Renaissance* (New York, 1930). It is interesting to observe the striking similarity of certain forms of the numerals 2 and 4 as portrayed in plates in Tannenbaum's book, pp. 155-156. Although it is futile to attempt to prove, by the use of

It is important to note that Adams in commenting on the many errors of a miscellaneous character which he discovered in the text did not include the 1622 date among them; as a matter of fact, he regarded that date as authentic, and employed it in his account of Morton's first visit to New England. But his conjectural narrative can scarcely be regarded as confirmation of the date in the text. In an attempt to provide a plausible recital of the supposed visit of Morton to New England in 1622, Adams suggested that Morton was a member of the Weston expedition which arrived in that year.¹² He failed, however, to present facts to corroborate his view, and finally was obliged to conclude as follows: "The Charity was the only vessel which came to New England in June, 1622. Weston's was the only party. At Wessagusset only did such a party build any houses."¹³ From this it may be seen that Adams did not verify Morton's alleged visit of June, 1622; he merely pointed out that *if* Morton came at that time he must have come with Weston's party. Further, in an attempt to explain away the significant fact that Morton never said that he was a member of the Weston expedition of 1622, Adams remarked:

At the time he wrote the *New English Canaan*, Morton was a dependent on Gorges and the Council for New England. Weston's expedition had left a very bad reputation behind it, and a peculiarly disagreeable association in Gorges' mind. Morton, therefore, had every inducement to ignore his own connection with it.¹⁴

But this interpretation of Morton's silence cannot be accepted, for: (1) although Adams endeavored to explain the silence of Morton, yet he offered no explanation for the significant silence that was

such materials, that the printer of Morton's manuscript mistook 1624 for 1622, yet it is important to note the possibility that the error occurred in this way.

For information on the mistakes made by seventeenth-century printers, due to faulty reading of manuscripts, see Leon Kellner, *Restoring Shakespeare: A Critical Analysis of the Misreadings in Shakespeare's Works* (London, 1925).

For information on proofreading in the seventeenth century, see Percy Simpson, *Proof-Reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries* (London, 1935). Although Simpson states that proofreading by authors was a fairly common practice during the seventeenth century, yet he adds that it was not universal. Furthermore, on p. 16 he says: "It is clear . . . that an author's direct supervision of the printing of his book might be intermittent and haphazard. But even if he were careful and frequent in his attendance at the press . . . the corrections were apt to be incomplete. Often they would be made after a single reading."

¹² Charles F. Adams, *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (Boston, 1892), I, 59, 163.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 164 n.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 163 n.

unanimously maintained on that point by the several contemporary chroniclers of Weston's settlement; (2) the purpose assigned by Adams to explain Morton's silence can scarcely be regarded as reasonable. Morton had been a dependent on the Council for some years before he wrote his book—having received from the Council, in 1620, a patent to land in Massachusetts.¹⁵ Hence, had he been a member of Weston's party, the Council probably would have known about it many years before the *New English Canaan* was written; (3) the hypothesis that he came with Weston in 1622 is unsupported by facts, contrary to evidence, and illogical—had Morton affiliated himself with Weston's company, which was one of the Council's chief rivals in New England, he would have jeopardized his own patent to land in Massachusetts.

II

Thus far an effort has been made to present legitimate reasons for discrediting the date 1622, which appears in two places in *New English Canaan*. Data will next be presented indicating that Morton first visited New England in 1624, probably in the month of June.

The following is taken from a petition submitted, in June, 1636, to the Court of Requests:

. . . Christopher Brodripp . . . in or about the yeare of our Lord God 1624 was indebted unto your said subject [Thomas Morton] . . . your said subject being then minded to travaile and to make a Voyage into New England aforesaid which he shortly after performed. . . And whether he doth not beleieve or hath heard that your said subject about twelve yeares since departed out of this Realme of England, and travelled unto New England. . .¹⁶

It is interesting to note that in this paper—which, in view of its legal character and in view of the fact that Morton was an attorney himself, presumably was prepared with the greatest care possible—it is clearly stated that he visited New England in 1624. There is no mention of an earlier visit, and the tone of the statement does not imply that there was any.

¹⁵ See Henry Gardiner, *New England's Vindication*, ed. Banks (Portland: Gorges Society, 1884), p. 23. For confirmation of the existence of this patent, see the letter of Samuel Maverick to the Earl of Clarendon, in "The Clarendon Papers," *New York Hist. Coll.*, Publication Fund Series, 1869, p. 40.

¹⁶ Charles E. Banks, "Thomas Morton of Merry Mount," *MHSP*, LIX, 92-95.

A record of ships and passengers arriving in New England in the spring of 1624 confirms the trip mentioned by Morton:

UNITY, of London, Captain . . . Wollaston, Master. She arrived about May with thirty-five persons, who settled at Mount Wollaston . . . among whom were the following: Thomas Morton. . .¹⁷

Further, the record tallies with the following information contained in an entry for the year 1628 in Bradford's chronicle of Plymouth:

Aboute some .3. or .4. years before this time, ther came over one Captaine Wolastone . . . and with him .3. or .4. more of some eminencie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provissions and other impl[e]ments for to be gine a plantation; and pitched them selves in a place within the Massachusets, which they called, after their captains name, Mount-Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton. . .¹⁸

The fact that in both of these records Morton's name is linked, not with Weston's, but with Wollaston's, is not without significance. It should be added, too, that Gardiner joined Morton's name with Wollaston's.¹⁹

In view of the complete lack of any proof that Morton ventured to New England with Weston or with anyone else in 1622, and in view of the striking similarity (save for the date given in Morton's book) of the various references pertaining to his actual arrival or to plans regarding his coming—contained in *New English Canaan*, in the record of the *Unity's* passenger list, in Bradford's chronicle, in Gardiner's book, and in the Court of Requests order—it is not unreasonable to conclude that his coming in company with Wollaston in 1624 constituted his first visit to New England.

One final piece of evidence tending to strengthen this conclusion appears in the following, taken from the *New English Canaan*:

This man [Thomas Morton] arrived in those parts [New England], and hearing news of a Towne [Plymouth] that was much praised, he was desirious to goe thither, and see how things stood, where his enter-

¹⁷ Charles E. Banks, *The Planters of the Commonwealth* (Boston, 1930), p. 57.

¹⁸ William Bradford, *Of Plimmoth Plantation*, ed. Ford (Boston, 1912), II, 45-46. Although Bradford's statement concerning the date of the Wollaston party's arrival is ambiguous—in that his remarks may be taken to refer to events of either 1624, or 1625—yet it seems, from a consideration of all the evidence, that the true date was 1624.

¹⁹ Gardiner, *op. cit.*, p. 23: "Then [1620] the said Council granted sundry Pattents, as to Capt. Willeston, Mr. Tho. Morton, some of Dorchester and others, to settle in the Bay of Machechusets."

tainment was there best, I dare be bould to say: for although they had but 3. Cowes in all, yet had they fresh butter and a sallet of egges in dainty wise, a dish not common in a wilderness, there hee bestowed some time in the survey of this plantation.²⁰

In view of the fact that Morton states that there were three cows in Plymouth when he first visited that town, it appears that his visit must have taken place in 1624.²¹ The settlers in Plymouth did not possess any kine until the spring of 1624, at which time "3. heifers and a bull" were brought over from England;²² by the spring of 1625, a second consignment of animals had arrived, and the cattle in the colony then numbered nine or ten.²³

In view of the evidence cited, it seems reasonable to conclude that Thomas Morton first visited New England, not in June, 1622, but in the spring of 1624.

²⁰ Morton, *New English Canaan*, *op. cit.*, p. 116. The statement occurs in the opening paragraph of Chapter 7 of Book III. The bracketed matter is taken from the title and the context of the chapter.

²¹ The editor of the Prince Society reprint of *New English Canaan* takes a different view of the matter. See Morton, *The New English Canaan*, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 n-260 n; "This chapter [Chapter 7, of Book III] relates to incidents of no apparent consequence, and of which there is no other record. It is not easy even to fix the time at which they occurred, and it would seem as if Morton, in his rambling, incoherent way, had confused the events of one year with those of another. . . . The chapter seems to have been introduced simply for the purpose of working on the church prejudices of Laud against the Puritans."

It is neither accurate nor fair to represent a text as being nonsensical, merely because one has failed to interpret it. Furthermore, Adams's opening remarks may be refuted by placing, side by side, chapters 6, 7, and 8, of the third book of the *New English Canaan*, with the sections of Bradford's history *Of Plymouth Plantation* that refer to events of the years 1623, 1624, and 1625. The three chapters in Morton's book refer to Weston's unfortunate experience in New England, to the arrival of Morton, and to the arrival and subsequent banishment of Lyford and Oldham; Bradford's book contains precisely the same information. The landing of companies of men, the arrival of cattle, the wrecking of a boat, and an account of the religious difficulties of the day, are recorded, not only in *New English Canaan*, but also in Bradford's history and in several other chronicles of the day. By this it may be seen that Morton was writing in a clear and orderly fashion when he wrote chapter 7 of the third book; the fact that he chanced to mention "the booke of common prayer" and "claret sparklinge neate," in widely separated portions of a single chapter, is no indication that he was writing in a frivolous or disorderly manner. Rather it appears that Adams was reluctant to discredit the date 1622 in Morton's book, and therefore interpreted this chapter in the light of his convictions with regard to Morton's arrival with Weston.

²² See Bradford, *op. cit.*, I, 352-353. In his account of the events of the year 1624, Governor Bradford wrote: "Shortly after [March, 1624], Mr. Winslow came over, and brought a prety good supply. . . . He brought 3. heifers and a bull, the first beginning of any catle of that kind in the land. . . ."

²³ See "Governor Bradford's Letter Book," pp. 33, 35, *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, pp. 9-13, and Banks, *The Planters of the Commonwealth*, p. 58.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S RHETORIC

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S prose has received no little praise and much impressionistic criticism in which categorical statement abounds. Lincoln is a great stylist, or he has no style; he was a master of language, or he had difficulty in expressing himself—depending upon how the critic reacts to the peculiar magic of Lincoln's words. But there has been surprisingly little analysis of his literary techniques and peculiarities of expression. Two critics, Luther Emerson Robinson and Daniel Kilham Dodge, have contributed much to our understanding of Lincoln's literary backgrounds and the development of his ideas, and Dodge has given a good, though incomplete, account of Lincoln's development as a stylist.¹ But neither of these has paid much attention to what seem to me to be outstanding peculiarities of his technique—peculiarities which set Lincoln's prose apart from the political writings of his contemporaries and perhaps give it much of its belletristic significance. It is my wish to illustrate these peculiarities in what follows.

I

Repetition, grammatical parallelism, and antithesis may be considered the most obvious technical devices of Lincoln's general style. He uses these devices with such frequency and variety of effect that it seems to have been a consistent habit of his mind to seek repetitive sequences in both diction and sentence structure for the alignment of his thought. That these devices were the result of Lincoln's deliberate seeking for an emphasis and simplicity which would prove effective with the common man we may infer from the often repeated testimony given by William H. Herndon: "he used to bore me terribly by his methods, processes, manners, etc., etc. Mr. Lincoln would doubly explain things to me that needed no explanation. . . . Lincoln's ambition in this line was this: he wanted to be distinctly understood by the common people. . . ."²

¹ Robinson, *Abraham Lincoln as a Man of Letters* (New York, 1918), and Dodge, *Abraham Lincoln: The Evolution of His Literary Style* (Urbana, Ill., 1900), and *Abraham Lincoln: Master of Words* (New York, 1924).

² *The Hidden Lincoln: From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon*, ed. Emanuel Hertz (New York, 1938), pp. 132-133.

This inference seems to be strengthened by the fact that Lincoln's favorite ideas—those which appear again and again in his works and which he turned over and over in his mind through months and even years—and his most memorable phrases almost invariably betray this repetitive pattern.

The most rigid example of Lincoln's use of parallelism is the letter written in reply to Horace Greeley's "Prayer of Twenty Millions." Here the parallelism is not merely a sentence pattern, but a pattern for the whole letter. It arranges with such geometric precision the measured parts of a complex idea that an almost deceptive simplicity is the result. In no other piece can one find quite the heavy, reduplicating blows which Lincoln employs as, over Greeley's shoulder, he speaks to the average citizen:

As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave any one in doubt.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free.³

For a more subtle use of parallel pattern in conjunction with antithesis we may consider a paragraph from the "Address at Cooper Union." As in the above, Lincoln here employs a characteristic amount of repetition, chiefly of the text which he has

³ Abraham Lincoln, *Complete Works*, ed. John G. Nicolay and John Hay (New York, 1894), II, 227-228.

taken from a speech delivered by Stephen A. Douglas. Throughout the address Lincoln quotes this sentence in part and in whole, until it becomes at this climax the fulcrum of his antithesis.

If any man at this day sincerely believes that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history, and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" were of the same opinion—thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers who framed the government under which we live" used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from Federal authority, or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the Federal territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now."⁴

Further, Lincoln's writings abound in single sentence antithesis such as the following: "I have endured a great deal of ridicule without much malice; and have received a great deal of kindness, not quite free from ridicule."⁵

This conjunction of grammatical parallelism with antithesis is natural enough, and where one is found to be characteristic of an author's style we may expect the other. But with Lincoln such antithesis seems not merely a technique, but like parallelism, a habit of mind. His faculties seized upon differences in opinion and contrasts in fact. In the debates with Douglas he rarely missed a chance to turn to advantage the contrast between himself and his opponent in appearance, and in personality, and in thought. It is perhaps to this faculty for perceiving and stressing antithesis as much as to any other quality of Lincoln's mind that we may trace whatever victory he won over Douglas. Even Douglas's so-called

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 605. The full statement of Lincoln's text, which he repeats with considerable rhetorical effect throughout the address, is taken from one of Douglas's speeches: "Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better than we do now."

⁵ "Letter to J. H. Hackett," *ibid.*, II, 435.

"Freeport Heresy" was the result of Lincoln's seizing upon an antithetical idea and literally placing it in his opponent's mouth: that a territorial legislature had not the power to exclude slavery, but that slavery could not exist in a territory unless the people desired it and gave it protection by legislation.⁶ This fondness for antithesis is nowhere in Lincoln's works more striking than in the following passage:

In those days, as I understand, masters could, at their own pleasure emancipate their slaves; but since then such legal restraints have been made upon emancipation as to amount almost to prohibition. In those days legislatures held the unquestioned power to abolish slavery in their respective States, but now it is becoming quite fashionable for State constitutions to withhold that power from the legislatures. In those days, by common consent, the spread of the black man's bondage to the new countries was prohibited, but now Congress decides that it will not continue the prohibition, and the Supreme Court decides that it could not if it would. In those days our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all, and thought to include all; but now, to aid in making the bondage of the negro universal and eternal, it is assailed and sneered at and construed, and hawked at and torn, till, if its framers could rise from their graves, they could not at all recognize it.⁷

II

On this basic pattern of parallelism in thought, Lincoln often elaborated a distinctly poetical cadence which suggests comparison with the cadenced prose of the seventeenth century. Although balanced rhythms with caesurae are indigenous to English poetry and perhaps to English prose, Hebrew literature through the King James Bible probably provided the literary examples which Lincoln knew best; and to his fondness for biblical phraseology we may trace at least a part of his mastery of the technique.⁸

⁶ Nearly two months before the "Freeport Debate" Lincoln wrote to Henry Asbury, a lawyer of Quincy, Ill., who was actually the originator of the famous question, "You shall have hard work to get him directly to the point whether a territorial legislature has or has not the power to exclude slavery. But if you succeed in bringing him to it—though he will be compelled to say it possesses no such power—he will instantly take the ground that slavery cannot actually exist in the Territories unless the people desire it, and so give it protection by territorial legislation" (*ibid.*, I, 277).

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 230-231.

⁸ Of the Elizabethan and seventeenth-century writers whose prose is marked by caesural sentences, we know that Lincoln had read Sir Francis Bacon. But of Lincoln's knowledge of technical rhetoric there has been, so far as I have discovered, relatively little study. An examination of some of the textbooks which Lincoln used as a boy reveals

In his emotive, lyrical passages balance becomes most striking, as it enriches his melancholy reflections or his fervent appeals to the hearts of his audience. Within single sentences it occurs in two forms: in a balanced sentence of two parts with a caesura approximately midway; and in a series of phrases or clauses separated by caesurae and grouped in balanced staves of two or more phrase units. Within an individual phrase or clause internal balance and parallelism often occur. As an example of the first type, we may consider the following sentence typical:

The grateful task commonly vouchsafed to the mournful living, of casting the mantle of charitable forgetfulness over the faults of the lamented dead, is denied us; for although it is much to say, for any of the erring family of man, we believe we may say, that he whom we deplore was faultless.⁹

As an example of the second type, we may take the concluding sentence of the "Second Inaugural Address":

With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nations wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.¹⁰

Sometimes this rhythm pattern extends over an entire group of sentences, or even the whole of a short address. The "Farewell Address" is an example:

I. *My Friends*: No one, not in my situation, can appreciate my feeling of sadness at this parting.

II. To this place,
and the kindness of these people,
I owe everything.

that he probably had a more thorough training in formal rhetoric than the average college graduate of the present. It is of particular interest that in each of the texts examined a section devoted to model sentences draws heavily on examples with caesurae, parallelism, balance, and antithesis. The author is particularly indebted to the Lincoln collection of Lincoln Memorial University for the privilege of examining the following: *The Kentucky Preceptor* . . . (3d ed., Lexington, Ky., 1812); Thomas Dilworth, *A New Guide to the English Tongue* (Philadelphia, 1791); Lindley Murray, *The English Reader* (Utica, N. Y., 1823).

⁹ "Address on the Death of Mr. Benjamin Ferguson, February 8, 1842," in Emanuel Hertz, *Abraham Lincoln: A New Portrait* (New York, 1931), II, 530.

¹⁰ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, II, 657.

- III. A. Here I have lived a quarter of a century,
 and have passed from a young to an old man.
 B. Here my children have been born,
 and one lies buried.
- IV. I now leave,
 not knowing when or whether ever I may return,
 with a task before me greater than that which rested upon
 Washington.
- V. A. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever
 attended him, I cannot succeed.
 B. With that assistance, I cannot fail.
- VI. A. Trusting in Him who can go with me,
 and remain with you, and be everywhere for good,
 let us confidently hope that all will yet be well.
 B. To His care commending you,
 as I hope in your prayers you will commend me,
 I bid you an affectionate farewell.¹¹

In this address there are two parallel patterns, of thought and of rhythm. Within and between some sentences (III, for example) they become identical. In others they merely coincide (V or VI). Between others there is a compensating balance of phrases and pauses, although the thought pattern is reversed from periodic to loose structure, and the rhythm pattern is varied (as II is to IV). The only sentence which is without a compensating rhythm is the first, which stands alone as a topic statement. Within this general pattern of close parallels there is enough variety in individual sentences to avoid monotony but sufficient regularity of rhythm patterns to produce distinct cadence, in some phrases approximating loose metrical effect.¹²

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 672. The arrangement and numbering are mine.

¹² In the so-called "unrevised version" of this address which was printed in the newspapers of the day, although there is distinctly less cadence, there is something of the same general pattern. A comparison of the two may suggest that when he later wrote it down Lincoln consciously strengthened the rhythm. The "unrevised version" is as follows: "Friends: No one who has never been placed in a like position can understand my feelings at this hour, nor the oppressive sadness that I feel at this parting. For more than a quarter of a century I have lived among you, and during all that time I have received nothing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived from my youth until I am now an old man. Here the most sacred ties of earth were assumed. Here all my children were born; and here one of them lies buried. To you, dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All the strange, checkered past seems to crowd now upon my mind. Today I leave you. I go to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail; but if the same omniscient mind and almighty arm that directed and

As these balanced rhythms sometimes approach meter in their regularity, Lincoln tends to heighten their effect with an occasional metrical phrase or sentence. Such phrases occur most frequently in perorations or passages of high emotional effect. As examples we may take a phrase from the "Second Inaugural Address" as quoted above— ". . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves . . ."; or from the "Gettysburg Address"— "The world will little note nor long remember what we say here"; or from the "First Inaugural Address"— "The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone. . . ."¹³

III

Repetition of sounds, as well as words, is another marked characteristic of his style. For the obvious purpose of emphasis, the reiteration of words in the letter to Greeley is typical of his habit of repeating key words. Along with this Lincoln often employs in poetic flashes alliteration, assonance, and even rime sounds. If we refer to the "Farewell Address," quoted above, we find a typical sequence of alliterated key words in the first sentence: "friends . . . situation . . . appreciate . . . feeling . . . sadness . . . parting," and in the following sentences, "place . . . people; born . . . buried," etc.¹⁴

protected him shall guide and support me I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us now. To him I commend you all. Permit me to ask that with equal sincerity and faith you will invoke his wisdom and guidance for me. With these words I must leave you, for how long I know not. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell" (W. H. Herndon and J. W. Weik, *Abraham Lincoln*, New York, 1926, II, 196-197).

¹³ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, II, 657, 441, 7.

¹⁴ Since Lincoln's fondness for alliteration and repeated sound effects is to be noted in several other passages, some speculation on whence the fondness came may not be out of order. Next to the Bible Lincoln confessed that he read as a boy one book that had influenced him more than any other, Weems's *Life of Washington*. It is a curious fact that Weems uses alliteration and repetition of sounds to such an extent that the device becomes, as it were, his *forte*. What the influence would have been on a young backwoods boy one can only surmise, but such sentences as the following, we may be sure, could not be entirely ignored: "In silence he rolled his eyes of fire on the floor, and twirled his terrible thumbs! his pages shrunk from his presence," or "a frightened fancy found food for its fears" (*The Life of George Washington . . .* by M. L. Weems, Philadelphia, 1844, pp. 38, 49). Weems had likewise a fondness for stupendous parallels and balanced sentences. W. E. Barton in his analysis of the "Gettysburg Address" traces Lincoln's use of the phrase "under God" to Weems's repeated use of it, and concludes, "That Lincoln owed a debt to Weems, he knew and acknowledged. That he realized himself to have been indebted to Weems for this form of words may not be so certain" (*Lincoln at Gettysburg*, Indianapolis, 1930, pp. 141-144).

In the "Gettysburg Address" these several varieties of repetition provide an effect unique in Lincoln's prose. Computation shows that of the two hundred and seventy-two words in the address nearly half (one hundred and thirty-two, to be exact) are repetitions. For example, the pronoun *we* occurs ten times; *here*, eight times. Recurring in a variety of positions and with changing emphasis, they furnish Lincoln's theme of the preservation of democracy with a pointed meaning—*we*, *here*. His abundance of *that's* has been lamented even by those who praise him most. W. E. Barton, in a generally good analysis of the address, makes the natural comment that "possibly if he had thought of it he could have substituted other words in a few instances."¹⁵ But Lincoln did, apparently, think of it. He changed the only *that* which he could find a substitute for without jeopardizing his pattern and shifting his point of view. "The unfinished work *that* they have thus far so nobly advanced," which occurs in his first draft, he changed to "work *which*. . . ."¹⁶ Instead of avoiding the word, Lincoln deliberately added it as he made his revisions, three times changing his original phrasing: "a portion of it" to "a portion of that field"; "that the nation" to "that that nation"; "This we may in all propriety do" to "It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this." Whether we like it or not, we are confronted with the fact that Lincoln deliberately, and I think with full consciousness of the effect, chose this close parallelism and obvious reiteration which others surely would have avoided even at the expense of emphasis and point of view.

In addition to this reiterative pattern Lincoln uses more abundantly in this address than anywhere else alliteration, assonance, and rime-sound repetition. With these devices indicated by italics, and repetitions of key words by parentheses, the oral peculiarities of the address become apparent:

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are *engaged* in a *great civil war*, testing whether that (nation), or any (nation) so (*conceived*) and so (dedicated), can long *endure*. We are met on a (great) *battlefield* of that (war). We have

¹⁵ W. E. Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹⁶ For the various versions and revisions of the "Gettysburg Address" see Barton, *op. cit.*, p. 66 ff.

come to (dedicate) a *portion* of that (*field*) as a *final* resting-place for those who here gave their *lives* that that (nation) might *live*. It is altogether *fitting* and *proper* that we should do this.¹⁷

The reader may, if he is interested, verify for himself the remarkable extent to which the remainder of the "Gettysburg Address" employs these devices, but perhaps other illustrations may be permitted. The following is the concluding paragraph to the "Address at Cooper Union":

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menace of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.¹⁸

In the "Second Inaugural Address" the sentence which some of Lincoln's critics have lamented as a pardonable lapse seems, in the light of this investigation, more likely to have been a deliberate choice: "Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away."¹⁹

Although it seems undeniable that Lincoln was conscious of sound effects, his choice of words seems to have been guided primarily by other values: meaning more than sound or connotation, concrete words more than abstract words, current idiom more than authoritarian nicety. So much has been written on the qualities of exactness, clarity, and simplicity in his style that it seems unnecessary to stress them here. They are, however, the qualities of prose excellence wherever it is met with, and as such hardly set Lincoln's style apart from that of Edmund Burke, though they do, in their degree, set his style apart from that of Stephen A. Douglas or that of William H. Seward. Important and obvious as these qualities are, the very meat and bread of his thought, one may wonder whether Lincoln's memorable passages are remembered today because of them, or because of the unique effects of arrangement, rhythm, and sound which accompany them. What Lincoln's own answer might have been we may infer from the following comment in one of Herndon's letters to Jesse W. Weik:

Mr. Lincoln's habits, methods of reading law, politics, poetry, etc., etc., were to come into the office, pick up book, newspaper, etc., and to sprawl

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, II, 439.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 612.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 657.

himself out on the sofa, chairs, etc., and read aloud, much to my annoyance. I have asked him often why he did so and his invariable reply was: "I catch the idea by two senses, for when I read aloud I hear what is read and I see it; and hence two senses get it and I remember it better, if I do not understand it better."²⁰

IV

Lincoln's use of figures of speech shows a third quality of style and thought hardly less interesting than those we have discussed. The entire problem of Lincoln's diction and originality of expression seemed to William H. Herndon inextricably bound up with an instinct for analogy and metaphor. In order that the reader may have the complete problem, I quote Herndon's analysis at length:

Mr. Lincoln was often perplexed to give expression to his exact, clean-cut ideas: first, because he was not a master of the English language, not knowing its flexibility and its grandeur, and secondly, there were to him no words in it containing the coloring, shape, and weight of his ideas; he was frequently at a loss for a word and hence at the beginning of his life was compelled to resort to stories, jokes, maxims, to embody and express his ideas, that they might be comprehended. . . . Lincoln's mind, commencing in his boyish-youthful days, to his greatness, underwent four changes as to the method of conveying his ideas: first, he used Aesop's fables as a means to that end; secondly, he used the common maxims of the common people to give expression to his thoughts; finding out that these would not always convey his ideas, he used, thirdly, stories, jokes, to that end; and, fourthly, as he became more and better acquainted with his mother tongue, he resorted to words and words alone to convey his ideas, though he never ceased to tell his stories and his jokes to those who he knew loved and could appreciate them.²¹

Of this analysis we can say only that it is true to the facts as Herndon saw them and that it is an attempt to explain what seems to have been a basic quality of Lincoln's mind. He was consistently and naturally figurative. His pithy quips, his almost legendary stories, and his most serious analyses constantly reveal this quality. Even his official messages contain not a few sentences like the following, addressed to General Hooker: "If the head of Lee's army is at Martinsburg and the tail of it on the plank road between

²⁰ *The Hidden Lincoln*, p. 95.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 416-417.

Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, the animal must be very slim somewhere. Could you not break him?"²²

In many instances his figure is so much the texture of his thought that the reader may not be conscious of it. Perhaps it was this growing subtlety which caused Herndon's failure to perceive that in later life Lincoln continued to use analogy and metaphor, not less but more, in the very thinking out of ideas. Lincoln's later style shows a fusion of metaphor and analogy with logic that is far more subtle than the telling of a story to make a point. The "Gettysburg Address" is in its entirety such a fusion of figure and logic. The metaphorical language of birth and spiritual rebirth, with its biblical overtones and allusions, begins in the first phrase to play the religio-patriotic parallel of the life of man and the life of democratic society through its suggestion of and association with the psalmist's "the days of our years are three score and ten." The "brought forth," "conceived," and "dedicated," as well as the later "new birth of freedom," etc., are the result of this metaphorical thinking, which combines the theme of birth, death, and rebirth of the nation with the elegiac theme of honor for those who "gave the last full measure of devotion." The effect is to identify the theme dearest to Lincoln—the rebirth of democracy—with the theme dearest to his audience—the spiritual rebirth of "these honored dead."

Although Lincoln never abandoned simile, analogy, and metaphor, it is true that his later works employ them less obviously than his early works, and that his middle period (1850-1860) shows a gradual fusion of the two modes outlined by Herndon. To this we may add the perceptible fact that as Lincoln grew, his figures became more effective and dramatic, though they remained consistently natural, even homely, in quality. Even his finest figures in his later writings are couched in terms that will appeal to the common, even the illiterate, man. Metaphor in the grand manner of Webster's famous peroration to the "Reply to Hayne" Lincoln seldom used, and in such little known early speeches as we do find something like them, Lincoln seems to reflect poorly and unnaturally an influence foreign to his mind. It was perhaps, this quality of natural homeliness which led Herndon to believe Lincoln not a master of language and to infer that Lincoln's figurative language

²² Lincoln, *op. cit.*, II, 352.

was the result of his seeking solely for clearness. With this inference later critics have generally agreed. Daniel Kilham Dodge summarizes, "Lincoln's figures almost always serve a useful purpose in making an obscure thought clear and a clear thought clearer."²³ And yet this implication of a purely utilitarian motive hardly does justice to an imaginative quality of mind. Herndon insisted, and others have agreed, that Lincoln had "no sense of the beautiful except in the moral world."²⁴ Such a limitation means nothing in an experimental or scientific sense, but even if we grant it we need not presume that Lincoln was oblivious of all but the useful in analogy or metaphor. All of Lincoln's contemporaries did not agree with Herndon's analysis. Stephen A. Douglas, as we shall see, thought that Lincoln loved figurative language for its own sake.

Lincoln's figures may be classified in two groups: those which are used as a method of explanation or as a basis for inference, and those which are used as rhetorical assertions for purposes of persuasion. In attempting to make any classification it is apparent that wide room for differences of opinion must be allowed, but let us proceed. The first classification is primarily utilitarian. In a scientific treatise such an employment of analogy may be very useful—as, for example, the wave analogy in explaining the theory of light—but it has dangers of inference if the analogy is carried too far or if the inference is too broadly drawn that waves of light and waves of water are "alike." Its usefulness diminishes as the inferences drawn tend to escape from the realm of observable fact. In a political speech, on the other hand, this type of figure may become more useful, if not in the pursuit of truth at least in getting votes, as the inferences drawn from it get farther from observable facts. With Lincoln the inferential values of such figures are almost without exception of more weight than their explanatory values, and as this is more or less evident in any particular figure Dodge's comment seems less or more true. Let us examine the progress of a typical series of figures through several stages of inference in one of Lincoln's most famous addresses:

Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it

²³ *Abraham Lincoln: The Evolution of His Literary Style* (Urbana, Ill., 1900), p. 27.

²⁴ *The Hidden Lincoln*, p. 416, *et passim*.

shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South.

Have we no tendency to the latter condition? Let anyone who doubts carefully contemplate that now almost complete legal combination—piece of machinery, so to speak—compounded of the Nebraska doctrine and the Dred Scott decision. Let him consider not only what work the machinery is adapted to do, and how well adapted; but also let him study the history of its construction, and trace, if he can, or rather fail, if he can, to trace the evidences of design and concert of action among its chief architects, from the beginning.

Under the Dred Scott decision, "Squatter sovereignty" squatted out of existence, tumbled down like a temporary scaffolding,—like the mould at the foundry, served through one blast, and fell back into loose sand,—helped to carry an election, and then was kicked to the winds. . . .

The several points of the Dred Scott decision, in connection with Senator Douglas's "care not" policy, constitute the piece of machinery in its present state of advancement.

[Then follows a lengthy analysis of the "working points of the machinery," climaxed by the following analogy:]

We cannot absolutely know that all these adaptations are the result of preconcert. But when we see a lot of framed timbers, different portions of which we know have been gotten out at different times and places, and by different workmen,—Stephen, Franklin, Roger, and James, for instance [Douglas, Pierce, Taney, Buchanan],—and when we see those timbers joined together, and see they exactly make the frame of a house or a mill, all the tenons and mortices exactly fitting, and all the lengths and proportions of the different pieces exactly adapted to their respective places, and not a piece too many or too few, not omitting even scaffolding—or, if a single piece be lacking, we see the place in the frame exactly fitted and prepared yet to bring such piece in,—in such a case, we find it impossible not to believe that Stephen and Franklin and Roger and James all understood one another from the beginning, and all worked upon a common plan or draft drawn up before the first blow was struck.²⁵

Of the last paragraph Douglas later said: "He studied that out—prepared that one sentence with the greatest care, committed it to memory . . . to show how pretty it is. His vanity is wounded because I will not go into that beautiful figure of his about the building of a house. . . ." ²⁶ This sarcasm seems at this late date to strike

²⁵ *Op. cit.*, I, 240, 242, 243.

²⁶ Quoted in *ibid.*, I, 303.

rather close to the heart of Lincoln's method, which was to phrase carefully and dramatically a figure that would stay with his listeners and carry implications of something more than rational analysis could maintain. If it works toward "making a clear thought clearer," that clearness is like the glass near the edge of a lens, capable of distorting vision rather than improving it. His analogy of machinery, we may admit, is effective in explaining to his hearers how the Dred Scott decision and Squatter Sovereignty were working together for the extension of slavery, but his analogy of the "house or mill" in its further implications that Douglas was deliberately working for the extension of slavery seems a distortion of truth. Among all Lincoln's figures of speech of this first class, it would be difficult to find even a few that are not, like these, more significant as rhetoric than as means of clarifying thought.

Of the second type of figures, those which are used merely as rhetorical assertions for the purpose of persuasion, Lincoln uses far fewer. They tend to be, however, even more effective and dramatic. Consider, for example, the following analogy from the "Address at Cooper Union":

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this government unless such a court decision as yours is shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action? But you will not abide the election of a Republican president! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters between his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"²⁷

Considering Lincoln's writings as a whole, one finds his use of figurative language abundant. Even when one compares him in this matter with his supposedly more rhetorical contemporaries—Daniel Webster, for example—he seems to have been not less but more figurative than the current styles of public oratory allowed. In his later works one finds figurative language less obvious but more effective and more expertly blended with the whole pattern of his thought.

v

There are in print very few passages which show clearly through various stages of revision that Lincoln consciously strove for the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 610-611.

effects we have observed. His revisions of the "Farewell Address" and the "Gettysburg Address" have already been noticed, but even the first drafts of these have so much the stamp of Lincoln's peculiarities that his revisions do little more than accent them. In his revision of Secretary Seward's suggested peroration for the "First Inaugural Address," however, we may see the artist deliberately at work, bringing his own peculiar pattern of thought and rhythm to another man's ideas, substituting his own exact and concrete words for orotund and vague terms,²⁸ removing redundant and useless words,²⁹ bringing closer together words that will enhance through assonance and alliteration the sound effect of the whole,³⁰ and, finally, changing a vague, transcendental metaphor into a homely but poetic figure which would be understood by every man who heard or read it.³¹

To label one of the following as Lincoln's is superfluous. Every sentence declares its creator:

I close.

I am loath to close.

We are not, we must not be, aliens or enemies, but fellow-countrymen and brethren.

We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies.

Although passion has strained our bonds of affection too hardly, they must not, I am sure they will not, be broken.

Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection.

The mystic chords which, proceeding from so many battle-fields and so many patriot graves, pass through all the hearts and all the

The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battle-field and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this

²⁸ Note especially "stretching" for "proceeding"; "friends" for "fellow-countrymen and brethren"; "land" for "continent."

²⁹ Note the omission of "too hardly," "of ours," "again."

³⁰ Note the "loath to close," "break our bonds," "mystic chords of memory," etc.

³¹ Seward's metaphor may suggest the extended metaphor in Coleridge's "Aeolian Harp," and in some respects may be considered good. To Lincoln, however, it probably seemed too metaphysical to appeal to the common citizen, who saw his angels plucking harps rather than imagined them as disembodied wraiths breathing upon aeolians. That Lincoln's revision of this metaphor was not quite an accident of the moment is indicated by earlier phrases such as the comment on Henry Clay, "This it is that truly touches the chords of sympathy" (*Complete Works*, I, 171) and by his phrase concerning the opening sentence of the "Declaration of Independence": "That is the electric chord in that Declaration that links the hearts of patriotic and liberty-loving men together" (*ibid.*, I, 258).

hearths in this broad continent of broad land, will yet swell the ours, will yet again harmonize in chorus of the Union when again their ancient music when breathed touched, as surely they will be by upon by the guardian angel of the the better angels of our nature.³³ nation.³²

³² John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York, 1890), III, 343. For a discussion of a possible source of Seward's theme and phraseology in Madison's concluding sentences in No. 14 of *The Federalist*, see Jay B. Hubbell's "Lincoln's First Inaugural Address," *American Historical Review*, XXXVI, 550-552 (April, 1931).

³³ Lincoln, *op. cit.*, II, 7.

THE FIRST ENGLISH PLAYS IN NEW ORLEANS

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AMONG THE REFUGEES who came from St. Domingo to New Orleans in 1791 was "a company of comedians from Cape Français, who opened a theater a short time after their arrival,"¹ thereby inaugurating a long and brilliant history of French drama in New Orleans. But no such convenient occasion has been found by which clearly to date the beginning of drama in English on the New Orleans stage. Dunlap believed that James H. Caldwell, on January 7, 1820, "represented at New Orleans the first English drama ever performed in that city by a regular *corps dramatique*. The *Honey-moon*, and *Three and Deuce*, were the pieces of the evening."² Sol Smith was equally circumstantial and yet quite different in his statement: "The English Drama was introduced into the city of New Orleans in December, 1817, by a Commonwealth Company. The performance took place in the St. Phillippe Street Theatre, afterwards the Washington Ball-room."³ Ludlow was even more precise:

I may state here, our performance Christmas Eve, 1817, was the *first representation by a regularly organized* company speaking the English language, that appeared in New Orleans. . . . There have been many misstatements of this matter . . . some . . . through ignorance, some from sinister motives, and some because they hoped for favor or reward in the way of *money*. I therefore record my statement on this point as a *fact* that is uncontrovertible.⁴

Now Ludlow should have known what he was talking about. He was certainly in New Orleans with a theatrical troupe in January, 1818, as evidence to be presented later shows clearly. But he was writing his memoirs in his old age, and his memory need not be regarded as infallible. Indeed, the very violence of his categorical

¹ Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (2d ed., New Orleans, 1879), III, 309.

² William Dunlap, *History of the American Theatre* (New York, 1832), p. 374.

³ Sol Smith, *Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years* (New York, 1865), p. 49.

⁴ N. M. Ludlow, *Dramatic Life as I Found It* (St. Louis, 1880), p. 140. Italics Ludlow's.

statement should put an investigator on his guard. It is the purpose of the present article to trace the early history of plays in English on the New Orleans stage not from memoirs but from more objective and contemporary evidence, that found in the play-notices in the New Orleans newspapers from 1805 to 1818. The evidence these newspapers afford contradicts rather than confirms Ludlow's claim, and thus casts further doubt on Ludlow's reliability.⁵ More important is the light thrown on theatrical and cultural conditions in New Orleans by this evidence, most of which is now presented for the first time.

The first dramatic performance in English which the notices in the New Orleans papers announced came almost within three years after the Louisiana Purchase. In 1806 a Mr. Rannie, entertainer, ventriloquist, magician, and actor was in New Orleans.⁶ The *Louisiana Gazette* for April 29, 1806, announced that Mr. Rannie would give a theatrical entertainment in three acts, called *The Doctor's Courtship*, followed by two acts of the pantomime *Don Juan*, "at the new theatre in Mr. Moore's large building, Chartres Street. Boxes, \$1, gallery, 50c." *The Doctor's Courtship* was a popular farce which had had its first New York performance within a short time of the New Orleans production.⁷ An advertisement in the *Gazette* for May 7, 1806, announced Mrs. Rannie's benefit, at which, in addition to magic and ventriloquism, would be acted "that comic piece, *A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, and the *Unfortunate Gentleman, or the Ghost's Return*." It is entirely possible that the Rannies had been in New Orleans for some time, and that *The Doctor's Courtship* was not their first play; for a benefit performance after only one prior performance seems unusual even for a barnstorming troupe in the provinces. With *The Battle of the Nile*, advertised for May 16, 1806, Mr. Rannie's career in New Orleans seems to have ended. There is no evidence about his success or his reception.

New Orleans was still largely a French city in 1806. It is important to note that thus early there was an attempt to provide the-

⁵ Ralph L. Rusk, *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier* (New York, 1925), I, 364, and elsewhere (e.g., I, 383-384) shows instances of Ludlow's unreliability, and his unsubstantiated claims concerning the establishment of the theater in St. Louis are treated by William G. B. Carson, *The Theatre on the Frontier* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 38 ff.

⁶ Two Rannies, older and younger, were active on the New York stage from 1800 to 1810. Which of the two performed in New Orleans has not been determined. See G. C. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (New York, 1927), II, 143, and index, for the New York career of the Rannies.

⁷ Odell, *op. cit.*, II, 305.

atrical entertainment for the Americans in New Orleans, by a New York professional actor who offered a recent New York success. The Americans in New Orleans were to wait five years before there was another attempt to provide an American theater.

But these five years were not devoid of signs of cultural *rap-prochement*, so to speak. The French theater was steadily active, as the advertisements in the *Moniteur* prove, and the French players occasionally showed some courtesy towards the American population. At the New Theatre on May 9, 1807 (and this performance is advertised in both the *Moniteur* and the *Gazette*), was presented *The Portrait of Washington*. This was an important scene in a crowded evening's entertainment, apparently. Fifteen figures in colored shades were to be exhibited, to be preceded by the likeness of his excellency, George Washington. An angel was to appear, come to offer the General a crown of laurel; it placed the laurel on Washington's head, retired three steps reverently, and then was to fly up into the heavens, all to be accompanied with appropriate music.

In this same week Le Sieur Falconi was presenting "physical and mathematical recreations, a galvanic machine and hydraulic experiments." Perhaps finding the scientific appeal of his performances not entirely suited to the disposition of the New Orleans public, he announced the addition of a quick-change dancer, a young girl, "who, while she is dancing, will change her costume so promptly that the audience will be unable to perceive it. She will appear as a luminous body surrounded by shadows of great natural grandeur for three or four minutes," states the advertisement in the *Moniteur* for April 25, 1807. But our estimate of the luxuriance of the New Orleans stage may be a bit checked by the announcement that at the new theater, "a la salle chinoise," the orchestra will be composed of four musicians.⁸

A concert and grand ball was arranged for Washington's Birthday the next year, 1808. The program as printed in the *Courier* for February 22, 1808, has no English or American pieces, however. More important was the pantomime arranged for July 4, 1810, and well advertised in the newspapers, both French and English. This pantomime was called *American Independence, Homage to the Memory of Washington*, and was in two acts. A special occasion helped to make this performance memorable. On July 1 a serious fire

⁸ *Moniteur*, May 2, 1807.

had done much damage in the city. The actors announced that this performance of *American Independence* would be for the benefit of the fire sufferers. A growing attention to the American element in the city may be further evidenced by some concerts. Desforges, a prominent musician of New Orleans, had composed a march in honor of President Madison, and played it at a benefit on November 4, 1809. A march honoring President Jefferson was played at a benefit concert held on November 14, 1810.

But these instances can only show that the American element had not created its own art by 1810, and that the drama, and for the most part music as well, were still the almost exclusive possessions of the French population of New Orleans.

With April, 1811, however, came a series of dramatic performances that have to be considered carefully. An "American Company," headed by William Duff, was advertised to give several plays in the St. Philip Street Theatre.⁹ Duff announced that by arrangement with Mr. Coquet he and his company would appear once or twice a week during the season; his success in different parts of the United States and even in Europe gave him reason to think that he could please New Orleans audiences. He announced for the first performance "the favorite comedy in three acts called *The Unfortunate Gentleman, or the Ghost's Return*," the same play, be it remembered, that Mr. Rannie had announced five years earlier. This was to be followed by the farce, *The Doctor's Courtship*, which also had been in Mr. Rannie's repertory. Mr. and Mrs. Duff were assisted by Messrs. Wood, Wilcox, and Thompson. Between the acts Duff would imitate bird calls, and execute several songs.

Duff and his company did not succeed in a permanent arrangement with the St. Philip Street Theatre, and next appeared at the Condé Street ballroom on June 29, 1811, in "the favorite drama, the *Slaves in Barbary*." The cast, printed in the *Gazette* for June 27, 1811, shows that several persons had been added to the company. Duff again assured the public that they would be pleased, and then went on to request that no "segars" be smoked in the theater during the performance. Edward Young's play, *The Revenge*, was announced as in rehearsal. It is not clear that *The Revenge* was ever performed. The next announcement in the *Gazette*, a month later

⁹ *Gazette*, April 23, 1811.

(July 31, 1811), indicates a union of dramatic interests and racial strains as well. The notice reads:

Theatre of Variety. In Mr. Boniquet's Ball room, Condé Street. The Society of Artists having united with Mr. William Duff have the honor to inform the public that on Saturday next the 3rd of August, they will perform the Two Hunters or the Dairy Maid, Pantomime and Ballet, in which a young lady just arrived from the United States will make her début in the part of the milk maid, and dance in character. The performance will end by a grand ballet in which Mme. Douvillier and Mr. Tessier will dance the principal part. This piece will be preceded by the Two Quakers, Pantomime in one act in which Mme. Douvillier and Mr. Tessier will perform the principal parts. At the rising of the curtain Mr. Duff will perform different feats of acting, balancing, etc., which will astonish the spectators. Between the play and the farce he will dance on the slack wire, perform the field exercise and will conclude the scene by imitating the Drunken Man, etc. The artists united at this theatre dare hope from the generosity and indulgence of the public the encouragement due not only to the efforts they have made to obtain good music and to decorate the room but also to those they will make to render the performance interesting, agreeable, and amusing.

For all this the public was asked to pay seventy-five cents, or fifty cents for the gallery. Later advertisements tell us that "the society of artists united with Mr. Duff" have had to postpone performance for four days, on account of the bad weather.¹⁰

How long this association continued, how well it was received, are questions yet unanswered. *The Two Hunters and the Dairy Maid* was a long-time favorite in New York, Charleston, and Philadelphia from 1795 on. It is also important to note that well-known artists from the French companies in New Orleans were assisting. Mme. Douvillier, indeed, had been a favorite on the Charleston stage in the French company there, and according to Ludlow had had a very interesting life.

In May, 1812, Duff was still in New Orleans, still promising entertainment to the public, though this time without much spoken drama. He was then associated with an acrobat named Siggismundi, who advertised himself as having performed in France, Italy, and Spain. Their show was to take place at 38 Bienville Street,

¹⁰ *Gazette*, Aug. 5, 1811.

"formerly occupied as a ball room." Balancing, "philosophical experiments," slack-rope dancing, transparent shades, imitation of bird calls, ground and lofty tumbling, and the musical farce of the *Two Blind Fiddlers*, made up the program for May 21.¹¹ On May 25 the performance was augmented by the addition of Mr. Love, who appeared as a comic character on the slack rope, and by this master-stroke by Duff:

Mr. Duff will do that wonderful operation which has never been attempted by any performer in this country but himself and Mr. Ramey. He will allow any gentleman in company to cut off the head of a living chicken, and after which to the astonishment of the audience, he will cement the head to the body, the chicken shall live and not be any the worse, except loosing [*sic*] a few drops of blood.

It is tempting to try to identify this Mr. Duff with the James Duff later well known to the Atlantic seaboard, husband of the noted actress who was Tom Moore's first but unattainable love. But dates as well as first names are opposed to this identification, and our William Duff's career seems unknown, except for this glimpse of him.

Further evidence of more tolerant racial relations is the presentation, of July 4, 1811, of the world première of *A Trait of Washington, or, France and America*, described as "an heroic comedy, never before presented on any stage." This was presented in French by the established group of players, Tabary taking the part of Washington, M. Auguste, Lafayette, and the part of America, "jeune paysanne," by Mlle. Laurette. "The scene takes place near the town of York, when Lord Cornwallis surrendered himself to the combined forces of America and France."¹² The author of this heroic comedy was Alexis Daudet,¹³ actor and sometime manager of one or the other French groups before 1812. *Un Trait de Washington* was repeated September 12, 1811, was given on Washington's Birthday, 1812, and a performance was announced for August 16, 1812, as "demanded under the present circumstances."¹⁴ The demand seems to have been due to the heated party controversy aroused by

¹¹ *Louisiana Gazette*, May 21, 1812.

¹² *Moniteur*, July 2, 1811.

¹³ *Ibid.*, July 20, 1811. Daudet proclaimed his authorship in a note denying that another French play had been composed in order to ridicule the Creoles of this country. Daudet's earliest comedy, *L'Ecossais à la Louisiane*, had had its first performance June 22, 1808, according to an item in the *Moniteur*.

¹⁴ *Moniteur*, Aug. 11, 1812.

the election of the first Louisiana State officials. The first performance of *Enfin nous sommes en état*, or *The Marriage of Louisiannette*, an allegorical comedy, interspersed with songs, had taken place on June 28, 1812.¹⁵

Washington, of course, was often presented in one guise or another. At the Phantasmagoria at the Condé Street ballroom in 1813 one of the important representations was that of Washington crowned by the Genius of Liberty.¹⁶ This Phantasmagoria, according to the advertisement, was a very notable improvement on anything of the kind hitherto seen. "The variety of shades, allegorical figures and great personages represented . . . will convince amateurs that this new species of representation is entirely different from all those hitherto given, which were but coarse imitations. . . . The room will be lighted at every change of object, which the ladies are assured will represent nothing frightful or disagreeable. Military music will play several American and French airs, analagous to the figures. . . ." ¹⁷

It would be erroneous to infer that the Battle of New Orleans brought about a complete and permanent reconciliation between the French and American elements in Louisiana. There was, however, an increased activity in several of the arts. Mr. H. Laclotte fairly promptly had a picture, "The 8th of January, 1815," copies of which were for sale in 1817.¹⁸ Then there was a popular musical composition representing the battle of January 8. This was being performed at least as early as January, 1816, and an arrangement for the piano was for sale by April, 1816.¹⁹ This composition may have had its first performance on January 31, 1816, for at a concert held that night in the Condé Street ballroom, it was the chief attraction. It was performed by a full band, and was described as "composed by Mr. Laroque from historical facts." At this first performance, the advertisement states: "It is confidently expected that every American, as well as every patron of the fine arts, will contribute, by his presence tonight, to the reward of genius, especially when thus exerted in commemoration of the equally memorable and glorious Eighth of January 1815."²⁰

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1812.

¹⁶ *Courier*, April 7, 1813.

¹⁷ *Courier*, April 7, 1813.

¹⁸ *Courier*, Oct. 27, 1817.

¹⁹ *L'Ami des lois*, Jan. 12, April 19, 1816.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 31, 1816. This advertisement was in French and English, but the French advertisement was silent about American participation. That the notice indicates a dis-

For the four years from 1812 to 1816 the advertisements do not indicate any professional actors trying to give plays in English in New Orleans. But the absence of professionals was in some measure compensated by several amateur performances for various charities. On Friday, January 24, 1812, a number of gentlemen performed the comedy of *John Bull, or the Englishman's Fireside*, by Coleman, at the St. Philip Street Theatre, charging an admission fee of two dollars, children half price, gallery one dollar. This performance was for the benefit of the Charity Hospital. "The design of the gentlemen who leave their usual departments in life for a road untrodden, is solely to relieve the distresses of their fellow creatures," the advertisement assures us. The managers were James Mather, Joseph Saul, William Flood, and G. W. Morgan, businessmen and politicians whose names are of frequent occurrence in city affairs, Morgan at one time being sheriff and Mather mayor. The managers later announced that the performance had cleared \$531.²¹ The same group presented Coleman the Younger's play, *The Heir at Law*, together with "the celebrated farce" of *Raising the Wind*, at the St. Philip Street Theatre, April 3, 1812. This performance called forth the first bit of pseudo-dramatic criticism I have found in the *Gazette*:

We were again gratified, on Friday evening last, with the representation of a comedy and farce in the English language, at the St. Philip Street Theatre. Whatever may be thought objectionable in the Comedy, we cannot but say we were really gratified; and it surely must give to the gentlemen, who for the moment "left their usual avocations for a path untrodden," the most pleasurable sensations in the recollection of the brilliancy of the audience, of the thundering applause they received, of the cheering smiles and approbation of the fair, and in the sweet recollection that while amusing themselves, they were largely contributing to the relief of distressed humanity.²²

In the following year another English play was performed for charity, again one by Coleman the Younger; this time it was the "favorite comedy of the Poor Gentlemen." Originally advertised for January 22, the performance had to be postponed one day, and then gained \$426.50, as the Charitable Society later announced.²³

inction between "Americans" and "the patrons of the fine arts" may after all be unintentional. It has, however, something of a prophetic value.

²¹ *Gazette*, Jan. 17, 1812, and Feb. 12, 1812. *Moniteur*, Jan. 21, 1812.

²² *Gazette*, April 6, 1812; see also *ibid.*, March 30, 1812, and *Moniteur*, April 2, 1812.

²³ *Courier*, Jan. 20, 1813; *Gazette*, Jan. 30 and Feb. 13, 1813.

This was repeated February 23, 1813, and then announced as presented by "the Thespian Charitable Society."²⁴ *A Cure for the Heartache* was presented for the benefit of the Charitable Society in November, 1813.²⁵ *A Cure for the Heartache* was again performed three years later, February 17, 1816, "along with the celebrated song, the quack Doctor." The English advertisement in the *Courier* (February 16, 1816) announced the play as given for "the benefit of the Thespian Benevolent Society," but the French notice in *L'Ami des lois* (February 16, 1816) makes it clear that a group of amateurs was presenting the play for the benefit of the poor.

A month later, the Thespian Benevolent Society was announcing the favorite comedy, *Who Wants a Guinea?*, to be followed by the farce, *Taste*, at the Orleans Theatre, for March 22, 1816. This play had to be transferred to the St. Philip Street Theatre, since the Orleans house could not be obtained for the necessary rehearsals, and was finally presented March 28, 1816.²⁶ It is possible that the performance of *The Point of Honor*, described as "translated from the German by Mr. Kemble," may have been done by professionals. It was advertised as "for the benefit of the sufferers by the late fire," and was performed at the St. Philip Street Theatre, November 21, 1816, "the part of Valcour by Mr. Robinson."²⁷ Another performance by amateurs for the benefit of several unfortunate families was advertised for February 12, 1817, but it is not clear whether the play was given in French or in English.²⁸ But the members of the Thespian Benevolent Society performed *The Honeymoon*, with the farce, *The Spoiled Child*, certainly in English. This performance, first advertised for March 1 at the St. Philip Street Theatre, was postponed to March 7, and then to March 11. It was for the benefit of the Female Orphan Society. The play went over so well that it was repeated March 28, with this editorial comment from the faithful *Gazette* of March 27, 1817:

We are happy to find that the play *The Honeymoon* is to be repeated, for the benefit of the Female Orphan Society. From the few opportunities of rational amusement afforded to that portion of our fellow citizens who do not understand the French language, an English play

²⁴ *Courier*, Feb. 17; *Gazette*, Feb. 16, 1813; and Feb. 23, 1813. *Moniteur*, Feb. 23, 1813.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1813.

²⁶ *Courier*, March 15; *Gazette*, March 28, 1816.

²⁷ *Gazette*, Nov. 20, 1816.

²⁸ *L'Ami des lois*, Jan. 29, 1817; *Courier*, Feb. 10, 1817.

is at all times a matter of interest—but when to that interest is added the conviction that the characters will be respectably filled, and that the profits will add to the funds of one of the noblest institutions ever formed by piety and charity, the well known character of the people of New Orleans leaves us no reason to doubt but the house will be well filled.

Again at the St. Philip Street Theatre, but by what company the advertisements do not state, was presented the melodrama of *The Magpie and the Maid*, “translated from the French,” with a comic farce, *All the World’s a Stage*. This was scheduled for April 8, 1817.²⁹

Six plays in English, by amateurs, within the year, and an editorial note calling attention to the “few opportunities for rational amusement afforded to that portion of our fellow citizens who do not understand the French language”—here is a situation ripe for development. The evidence is quite likely incomplete, since the newspaper files in the city archives and the Louisiana Historical Society are curiously meager for the years 1814 and 1815. It is a fair inference that the events of the War of 1812 increased local patriotism, and furthered that interest in American culture and language which had already been stimulated by the acceptance of Louisiana as a state.

But to return from conjecture to a more solid footing. In the summer of this same 1817, when the amateurs were busy offering English plays, a professional American company became active. On May 23 at the St. Philip Street Theatre *The Miller and His Men*, a melodrama in three acts, was presented for Mr. Robinson’s benefit. The cast included Mr. Keen, Mr. Cargill, Mr. Robinson, and Mr. Jones. That this was not the first performance by these gentlemen is clear. First, a benefit performance for one of the cast can hardly be given until the player has established himself to some degree in the affections of his audience. It may be remembered that Mr. Rannie had appeared at least once before advertising Mrs. Rannie’s benefit, in 1806. Then, in the farce or after-piece, which was *The Weathercock*, Mr. Jones took the part of Tristram Fickle, with this note, “his second appearance.”³⁰

For June 2, 1817, this same group advertised, for Mr. Cargill’s benefit, “Shakespeare’s very justly celebrated, and much admired

²⁹ *Gazette*, April 3, 1817.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, May 20, 1817; *L’Ami des lois*, May 21, 1817.

tragedy of Othello The Moor of Venice." Mr. Cargill was Iago; Mr. Jones, Othello; Mr. Robinson, Roderigo. The rest of the cast were not named in the advertisement. "In the course of the evening Mr. Cargill will sing the favorite song of The American Soldier, or Battle of New Orleans. . . ." The advertisement is important enough to quote in part:

In presenting this entertainment to the citizens of New Orleans, Mr. Cargill feels confident of giving, at least, as much satisfaction as has ever been experienced by an American audience in this place. The merits of the celebrated author of this piece, as justly termed the father of the English stage, are too well known to require any remarks on this occasion; and the weight of the piece depending principally on a small number of characters, it is conceived to be perfectly within the compass of the present society. . . . N.B. The ladies and gentlemen who may honor the theatre with their presence on that evening are respectfully assured that the scenery will be so managed as to cause no unnecessary delay; and the entertainment, (though long) will not exceed twelve o'clock.³¹

Two members of this American company, Jones and Cargill, according to the *Courier* for May 30, 1817, joined with Douvillier for a performance of *The Battle of Bunker Hill, or the Death of General Warren*, announced for June 5, 1817. The English speeches by Samuel Adams and John Hancock fell to Jones and Cargill. This was advertised as the first New Orleans performance of the work.³² It should be noted that the Douvilliers had, as early as 1811, united with William Duff's troupe for a few performances.

In 1817, "The Olympic Circus" began to be a strong competitor with the St. Philip Street Theatre. This establishment seems to have been a combination of a horse-show ring and a theater. On June 9 at the Circus there was performed "The Battle of New Orleans, or Glory Love and Loyalty, written by a gentleman of this city."³³

June 26, *The Madison Family, or the Good and the Bad Savage* was announced as in preparation for Mme. Douvillier's benefit. Since this play had been successfully presented in the Northern theaters, and with notable success in Philadelphia, it was thought that

³¹ *Courier*, May 30, 1817. The performance may have begun as early as six-thirty, and certainly by seven. A city ordinance, which the mayor seems to have insisted on having observed, regulated the hours of the curtain rising.

³² I owe this reference to Professor Charles I. Silin, of Tulane University, who has been studying the history of the French theater in New Orleans.

³³ *Courier*, June 9, 1817.

New Orleans would welcome it. This is the earliest advertisement noted in which the English or American success of the play is spoken of. The French plays were, of course, frequently advertised as the latest Parisian successes. In July *The Hunted Tailor* was in preparation, "As performed at Astley's Circus in London, and lately introduced in America by Mr. West's company. It will be got up under the direction of Mr. Menial."³⁴ Menial, according to Odell, was no stranger to the New York stage from 1810-1815. Cayetano was also in this production. His name too was well known in New York and better known in New Orleans from his circus. Menial's last appearance in the 1817 season was in *The Madison Family*, on July 24, announced several weeks ahead.

In November, 1817, Cargill again tried his fortunes with the New Orleans audience. The advertisement reads in part:

American Theatre, for one night only. Mr. Cargill, having been disappointed in receiving his benefit last spring has the pleasure to inform the ladies and gentlemen of New Orleans and vicinity that there will be performed for their amusement, and, as he hopes, for his benefit . . . on Tuesday Evening, November 4th, *How to Die for Love*.³⁵

The phrasing of this notice is not conclusive. Cargill had advertised *Othello* for his benefit for June 2. "Having been disappointed in receiving his benefit last spring" probably means that the performance was not given; it may, however, mean that the returns from the performance were disappointing.

More ambitious was the next play announced by the American Theatre, "Shakespeare's celebrated tragedy, *Henry IV*, or, the humours of Sir John Falstaff." Cargill played the King, Mr. Robinson, Prince Hal, Mr. Jones, Falstaff. Hotspur was played by Mr. Vos, "lately from the eastern theatres." The scenes were the work of Mr. Jones. On account of bad weather, says a later statement, the play was postponed, and had its first performance on December 15.³⁶

An unusual amount of "plugging" was done to get out a good house for *Henry IV*. In the *Gazette* for December 9 "Thespis" was pleased at observing an advertisement for an American performance. It will be a treat indeed, and the more so, as it is one of Shakespeare's best tragedies. We know not one in the whole catalogue of plays more suited

³⁴ *L'Ami des lois*, July 5, 1817.

³⁵ *Courier*, Oct. 24; *Gazette*, Oct. 25, 1817.

³⁶ *Gazette*, Dec. 2; *L'Ami des lois*, Dec. 12, 1817.

to the temper and natural affability of Frenchmen; and we sincerely hope, the young amateurs composing the company, will not be discouraged by beholding a beggarly account of empty boxes. The parts we understand are judiciously cast, and we recommend to all Americans to visit the Theatre on that evening as they may not have such an opportunity again shortly.

Thespiis again appeared in the *Courier* on Monday, December 15:

We were greatly disappointed on Wednesday evening last, at not receiving our anticipated pleasure in witnessing the performance of Henry IV. However, as we are informed that great pains have been bestowed in bringing this admired piece forward, we anticipate two fold pleasure on this evening, (when, as we understand, the performance is to take place). We are promised the part of Hotspur by Mr. Vos, from the eastern theatres, who is said to be a "theatrical genius," and we may expect in his Hotspur, "Hotspur himself." Mr. Jones as Falstaff will do justice to his character—Mr. Cargill is from Kentucky and to his talents we are no strangers—Mr. Robinson likewise claims our attention: without rivalry he is the first comic player in this part of the country, and in the afterpiece, (*The Tooth-Ache*) he will have full scope for his abilities: the *amateurs* no doubt will likewise obtain our approbation. Let us not then deny their exertions, but compose what is called a "good house," and patronize the rising merit of our beloved country.

The notice is in both French and English, with a curious modification of sense in the final sentence. The French readers got only this: "We citizens should not lose the chance to encourage talents"; nothing about patronizing "the rising merits of our beloved country."

After all this, it is gratifying to record that the performance was repeated "by particular desire." The second performance was on December 18, and took place in the Circus, the December 15 performance having been in the St. Philip Street Theatre.

From Thespiis's second notice, it should be pointed out, it is clear enough that Cargill, Jones, and Robinson were familiar names to the theater audiences in New Orleans of 1817, and were regarded as professionals, in distinction from amateurs who took the minor parts.

The American troupe was back at the St. Philip Street Theatre for Christmas Eve, 1817, in Kotzebue's three-act comedy, *How to Die for Love*, followed by a Christmas medley, concluded by the farce

of *The Tooth-Ache*.³⁷ "Tickets and places may be taken of Mr. Jones, at the Theatre."

During the last ten days of 1817 the following dramatic performances were advertised in the New Orleans press:

Dec. 20, at the Circus, *The Servant Maid*

Dec. 24, at the St. Philip, the American players, *How to Die for Love*

Dec. 26, at the Circus, *The Reward of Valor*; at the St. Philip Street Theatre, *Edward in Scotland*

Dec. 28, at the Circus, *The Cooper*

Dec. 31, at the St. Philip Street Theatre, Miss Lise's benefit, *Mathilde*.

Our American company continued its appearance in 1818. For January 5, *Othello* was announced at the St. Philip Street Theatre.³⁸ Their offering for January 8, at the Circus, was advertised to be "the admirable comedy in 3 acts (never performed here) called The Duel." Cargill, Vos, King, Jones, and Robinson were announced as members of the cast.³⁹ Douvillier and Mlle. Laurette, who had been among the French artists to unite with William Duff's American troupe in 1811, and who in June, 1817, were playing with Jones and Cargill, again joined forces with the Americans for a performance scheduled for January 25, 1818. Douvillier offered for his benefit "an entire new American performance, got up under the management of Mr. Jones, called, The Watchword, or Quito Gate." Cargill, Vos, King, and Robinson are named in the cast. In the pantomime, *The Shipwreck of La Peyrouse*, Douvillier, Barnet, and Mlle. Laurette took part.⁴⁰ Cargill announced for his benefit, at the Circus, Lewis's *Timour the Tartar*, for February 19, 1818. On this occasion he sang "The Star-Spangled Banner," "with an additional verse."⁴¹ Meantime, the French company continued to offer plays at the St. Philip Street Theatre.

But what of Ludlow, who was so positive that his company gave the first professional English drama in New Orleans on December 24, 1817, with *The Honeymoon*? In *L'Ami des lois* for January 10, 1818, is found the answer:

AMERICAN THEATRICAL COMMONWEALTH.

(By permission of the Mayor.)

The American Theatrical Commonwealth Company having recently arrived in this place, take this opportunity to inform the patrons of the

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Dec. 22, 1817.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1818.

³⁹ *Courier*, Jan. 5, 1818.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1818.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 16, 1818.

Drama that they have entered into an agreement with the proprietor of the St. Philip Street Theatre for the purpose of performing regular Dramatic pieces; and assure them that every exertion will be made to select such pieces as shall tend to render the amusement at the same time pleasing, moral and instructive. The theatre will, therefore, open on Tuesday evening, January 13, 1818, with a celebrated comedy in five acts, written by John Tobin, esq., called the Honey Moon.⁴²

It is clear, then, that Ludlow's memory was wrong, by some three weeks, about the date of his first showing in New Orleans. Instead of Ludlow's being the first professional company to offer plays in English in New Orleans, Rannie in 1806, Duff in 1811, and the Cargill troupe in 1817, must share the honors of priority. At least twenty-two performances in English, professional and amateur, took place in New Orleans before Ludlow arrived there. The very play that Ludlow's company opened with, *The Honeymoon*, had already been twice performed within the year. When Ludlow's company arrived, they found a small American troupe in New Orleans, giving plays with some regularity. Furthermore, the French performances continued to be given with about their usual regularity after Ludlow's arrival. All of which makes Ludlow's statement more and more difficult to reconcile with the established facts, for he wrote (p. 139):

Some few years before our arrival there had been performances in the French language, but none in English. During our season there were no French performances in the city, the theatre having been burned some months prior to our arrival.

How could Ludlow have forgotten that there were French plays alternating with his own at the St. Philip Street Theatre for part of his stay?

Ludlow's company had a brilliantly successful season in New Orleans, as is clear both from his own account and from the supplementary evidence of the advertisements.⁴³ Their first season may thus be summarized:

⁴² This advertisement is reproduced on p. 131 of *The American Stage*, by Oral S. Coad and Edwin Mims, Jr. (Vol. XIV, *The Pageant of America*, New Haven, 1929), without any comment or discussion of the problem. Other recent works on the history of the American theater follow Ludlow.

⁴³ The first performance by Ludlow's company was evidently reviewed in the *Orleans Gazette*, a newspaper now inaccessible, for the *Courier* for Jan. 19, 1818, refers to a review by Thespis. The departure of Ludlow's company was appropriately regretted by the *Louisiana Gazette* for April 25, 1818.

Jan. 13, <i>The Honeymoon</i>	March 6, <i>John Bull</i>
Jan. 16, <i>The Foundling of the Forest</i>	March 10, <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
Jan. 21, <i>The Castle Spectre</i>	March 12, <i>George Barnwell</i>
Jan. 30, <i>She Stoops to Conquer</i> (announced first for Jan. 24, but postponed because of failure to obtain suitable music)	March 21, <i>Tekeli</i>
Feb. 4, <i>Douglas</i>	March 24, <i>The Way to Get Married</i>
Feb. 7, <i>The Farm House, or the Way to Win Him</i>	March 27, <i>The Mountaineers</i>
[Feb. 20?], <i>The Merchant of Venice</i> (announced first for Feb. 14, postponed several times on account of bad weather, finally (<i>Gazette</i> , Feb. 19) announced for "the first fair evening, Thursdays and Sundays excepted")	(March 31, <i>Lover's Vows</i> , announced but not given)
Feb. 27, <i>Speed the Plough</i>	April 2, <i>Venice Preserved</i> , with Mr. and Mrs. Savage, from the Eastern theaters
March 3, <i>The Stranger</i> (or March 4, perhaps, "weather permitting")	April 4, <i>The Foundling of the Forest</i>
	April 8, <i>Ella Rosenberg</i>
	April 11, <i>The Blind Boy</i>
	April 15, <i>Laugh While You Can</i>
	April 18, <i>The Blind Boy</i>
	April 21, <i>The Doubtful Son</i>
	April 23, <i>The Birthday</i>
	April 25, <i>Lovers' Vows</i>
	April 29, <i>The Honeymoon</i>
	May 1, <i>The Castle Spectre</i> .

Some twenty-six plays since January 13, more than the Americans in New Orleans had seen in all the years of the territory and state. Ludlow recalled (p. 152) that the profits were surprisingly large, \$3,000 net profits for the fifteen weeks' season. From an advertisement in the *Gazette* for April 14, 1818, signed by Bainbridge as treasurer of the company, we learn that Mr. Hanna, one of the principal actors, had never been kept waiting for his salary of \$25 per week, which is additional evidence of the success of the company. Yet Ludlow complained (p. 142) that the St. Philip Street Theatre was too far from the American population "to have that benefit of their support as we should have had if we had been nearer Canal Street."

One of the notable stories that Ludlow relates about his first season in New Orleans is that of the performance of the *Don Juan* pantomime by the Douvilliers, who, he says, had asked for an appearance with the Ludlow company. Ludlow remembered this as occurring in April, 1818. But the advertisements give no informa-

tion about this performance. Perhaps it belongs to a later year in Ludlow's history.

But the most surprising lapse in Ludlow's statement (or memory) is his silence about the Cargill troupe. Later in his book (p. 180) he states that "a Mr. Cargill" joined the company which he took to St. Louis in December, 1819. He thought Cargill was a substantial and competent actor rather than an inspired one, and gave the impression that he had not heard of Cargill until late in 1819. But if an advertisement reproduced in *The American Stage*⁴⁴ is correctly dated, Cargill was in Ludlow's troupe in Nashville at least as early as December 15, 1818. The advertisement is for a performance of *Henry IV*, "Mr. Jones's benefit," and Jones is playing Falstaff, Cargill the King, and Vos, Hotspur, with Ludlow playing Poins. Now Jones, Cargill, and Vos had these same parts in their New Orleans productions of December, 1817; so it seems that Ludlow had added his New Orleans competitors to his own troupe within the year. Jones was known also as a scenic artist, and seems to have been regarded by Ludlow as a member of the Ludlow company from their first arrival in New Orleans. But the Ludlow troupe's performance of *The Doubtful Son*, April 21, 1818, was advertised as "Mr. Jones's benefit," with this note: "The American Company having volunteered their services for the benefit of Mr. Jones,"⁴⁵ a clear indication that Jones was not then a regular member of their company.

Ludlow's inaccuracies, however confusing and irritating they may be, hardly deserve further consideration. As the evidence from the contemporary press shows, there were several attempts to establish an American theater in New Orleans before Ludlow's arrival. In addition to the numerous plays given in English by amateurs for charity, Rannie in 1806 and Duff in 1811 represent professional efforts; and the Cargill company, acting in New Orleans when Ludlow arrived, were good enough to be taken into Ludlow's company within the year. The importance of these various efforts may well lie in having served as a foundation on which were to be based the astounding successes of the New Orleans theaters in the 1820's and 30's.

⁴⁴ Coad and Mims, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

⁴⁵ *Gazette*, April 20, 1818.

NOTES AND QUERIES

AN EARLY AMERICAN IMITATOR OF MILTON

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OF FIFTY-ONE poems in Nathaniel Evans's small volume, *Poems on Several Occasions*, published in Philadelphia in 1772, six are clearly imitative of Milton—indeed, in several instances, are little more than paraphrases of poems by him. The six poems are: "Beginning of a Poem on the Passion and Resurrection of Christ," "On Time," "Hymn to May," "An Ode, on Completing My One and Twentieth Year of Age," "An Anacreontic Ode," and "To Melancholy."¹

Evans's "Beginning of a Poem on the Passion and Resurrection of Christ," a fragment of seventeen lines, is virtually a paraphrase of Milton's "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity." For comparison with Milton's poem, I quote Evans's:

Now came the hour, th'important hour
When Heav'n's eternal Son,
(Who deign'd the fleshly form to wear,
And all our sins and troubles bear),
His sacred blood for man must pour
By Satan's wiles undone.
O Thou! all-hallowed Spirit, hear!
Inspirer of the prophets old,
Who tun'd the royal David's ear,
When thro' his breast sweet transports roll'd;
Thou Paraclete divine, o'er-rule my humble lyre,
And touch a mortal breast with thy celestial fire.
For all in vain
We wake the strain
Our gratitude to prove
And sing Messiah's love,
Unless thy holy flame our frozen hearts inspire.²

¹ Professor Leon Howard, in his article "The Influence of Milton on Colonial American Poetry," *Huntington Library Bulletin*, No. 9, p. 73 (April, 1936), has referred briefly to Evans's being indebted to Milton in three of these poems: "Hymn to May," "An Anacreontic Ode," and "To Melancholy." The scope of Professor Howard's study naturally forbade an exhaustive consideration of Evans's indebtedness to Milton.

² *Poems on Several Occasions with Some Other Compositions* (Philadelphia, 1772), p. 136.

The identical themes are not, of course, significant, but the similarities in development and diction are. The opening lines of the two poems specify the time, that of Christ's birth. In the second line of each poem, Christ is named—by Milton as "Son of Heav'n's eternal King" and by Evans as "Heav'n's eternal Son." In the third line of each, mention is made of Christ's supernatural being; in the fourth line, of his mission as the redeemer of mankind. In the fifth line of Evans's poem and the sixth line of Milton's, the nature of Christ's sacrifice is indicated. Between other lines of the two poems there is also an apparent parallelism. Milton, in line 15, invokes the "Heav'nly Muse"; Evans, in line 7, the "all-hallow'd Spirit." Milton speaks, in line 24, of a "humble ode" which his Muse is to place at Christ's feet; Evans, in line 11, asks his muse to overrule his "humble lyre." Milton, in line 28, speaks of the "secret Altar toucht with hallow'd fire," and Evans, in line 12, asks his muse to "touch a mortal breast with celestial fire."

Evans's "On Time," an unfinished poem, bears marked resemblance to Milton's poem of the same title. Evans wrote, in part:

O Time! still urging to eternity,
 In thy deep womb the world's vast actions lie—
 Thy hours still whirl us on in full career,
 Day following day, and year succeeding year;
 Old moments ending as the new ones rise—
 For thy first child, Succession, never dies;
 But all things human own thy sov'reign pow'r,
 Just live and die—a thousand in an hour.
 Kings, empires, thrones and nations fade away,
 And others still succeed as they decay;
 Fair peace and horrid war still rule by turns,
 With love and rage the world, alternate, burns;
 And thus the same rotation shall be seen,
 Till consummation shuts this earthly scene.³

It will be observed that both Milton's poem and Evans's begin with an apostrophe to time. Both refer to past events engulfed in the womb of Time. Milton says (l. 4):

And glut thyself with what thy womb devours.

Evans says (l. 2):

In thy deep womb the world's vast actions lie.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Both poets express the idea that Time will endure until this earth is destroyed. Milton says (ll. 10-11):

And last of all, thy greedy self consum'd,
Then long eternity shall greet our bliss.

Evans, echoing the idea of these lines, writes (ll. 13-14):

And thus the same rotation shall be seen,
Till consummation shuts this earthly scene.

Both Milton and Evans stress the idea that Time destroys only what is mortal; for Milton speaks (l. 6) of its devouring "meerly mortal dross" and Evans says (l. 7) that "all things human own thy [Time's] sov'reign pow'r."

In Evans's "Hymn to May" one finds echoes of both "Song. On May Morning" and "L'Allegro."⁴ For the purposes of comparison, I quote Evans's verses:

Now had the beam of Titan gay
Usher'd in the blissful May,
Scatt'ring from his pearly bed,
Fresh dew on ev'ry mountain's head;
Nature mild and debonnair,
To thee, fair maid, yields up her care.
May, with gentle plastic hand,
Clothes in flow'ry robe the land;
O'er the vales the cowslips spreads,
And eglantine beneath the shades;
Violets blue befringe each fountain,
Woodbines lace each steepy mountain;
Hyacinths their sweets diffuse,
And the rose its blush renews;
With the rest of Flora's train
Decking lowly dale or plain.
Thro' creation's range, sweet May!
Nature's children own thy sway—
Whether in the chrystal flood,
Am'rous sport the finny brood;
Or the feather'd tribes declare,
That they breathe thy genial air,
While they warble in each grove
Sweetest notes of artless love;

⁴ The general similarities have been noted by Professor Howard, *op. cit.*

Or their wound the beasts proclaim,
 Smitten with a fiercer flame;
 Or the passion higher rise,
 Sparing none beneath the skies,
 But swaying soft the human mind
 With feelings of ecstatic kind—
 Thro' wide creation's range, sweet May!
 All Nature's children own thy sway.⁵

A comparison of the lines just quoted with the first lines of Milton's "Song. On May Morning" indicates a fairly characteristic adaptation by Evans of Milton's theme and his imagery. Milton's first line:

Now the bright morning star, Dayes harbinger,

finds general correspondence in Evans's first line:

Now had the beam of Titan gay.

Milton's description of May scattering cowslips and primroses (ll. 3-4) is rather effectively modified and expanded by Evans (ll. 9-16). In the same manner, Milton's description of May as the season of "Mirth and youth, and warm desire" (l. 6) is taken over and amplified in the sixteen lines of Evans's second stanza.

Evans's "An Ode, on Completing My One and Twentieth Year" is analogous to Milton's sonnet written on his twenty-third birthday. The first stanza of Evans's ode displays an indebtedness to Milton, not only in general conception but in phraseology:

Father⁶ of old oblivion, hail!
 Restrain thy swift-revolving glass;
 If soothing verse can ought avail,
 To charm thy movements as they pass,
 Still shall I let thee onward glide,
 To waft me down thy boundless tide,
 And unimprov'd remain my soul,
 When twenty-one quick summers from me thou hast stole.⁷

An obvious borrowing, aside from the general idea, is Evans's employment of Milton's figure of Time as a thief. Moreover, Milton's

My hasting dayes flie on with full career

⁵ Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

⁶ Time (the poet's own note).

⁷ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

(l. 3) finds analogues in Evans's references to Time's "swift-revolving glass" (l. 2) and "onward glide" (l. 5). The closing stanza of Evans's rather lengthy ode presents further evidence of the borrowing of phrase and idea from Milton:

So come what will, the adverse scene,
Or fortune's gay alluring smile,
Still shall I keep my soul serene,
Superior to all sinful guile;
Then, whether Fate's resistless shears,
Shall clip my thread in ripen'd years;
Or, in my Prime, my doom be spoke,
Undaunted shall I yield, and fearless meet the stroke.⁸

It is scarcely necessary to point out the attitude of Christian resignation apparent both in these lines and in Milton's sonnet (ll. 8-16). Significant also is the phrase "ripen'd years" (l. 6), obviously derived from the "inward ripenes" of Milton's sonnet (l. 7).

Evans's "An Anacreontic Ode" gives definite evidence of having been suggested by Milton's "L'Allegro."⁹ I quote Evans's brief poem:

Hence with sorrow, spleen, and care!
Muse, awake the jocund air;
Wreath thy brows in myrtle twine,
And assist the gay design,
Strike the trembling string with pleasure
Till it sound the enchanting measure.
Avaunt! thou fiend pale melancholy!¹⁰

Milton's opening line, "Hence loathed Melancholy," is paraphrased in Evans's first and last lines: "Hence with sorrow, spleen, and care!" and "Avaunt! thou fiend pale melancholy!" Both poets make the same antithesis between Melancholy and her opposite—Milton's "Goddess . . . ycleap'd Euphrosyne" and Evans's Muse who awakes the "jocund air." Moreover, Evans's "trembling string" and "enchanting measure" (ll. 5 and 6) suggest imitation of the passage near the end of "L'Allegro" beginning "Lap me in soft Lydian Aires."

One finds an even closer similarity between Evans's unfinished

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁹ Leon Howard, *op. cit.*, p. 73, finds "echoes of 'L'Allegro'" in "An Anacreontic Ode."

¹⁰ Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

poem "To Melancholy" and "Il Penseroso."¹¹ Evans, clearly borrowing his general theme and treatment from Milton, wrote:

Come, thou Queen of pensive air,
 In thy sable, sooted car,
 By two mournful turtles drawn—
 Let me meet thee on yon lawn,
 With decent vestments wrapt around,
 And thy brows with cypress bound!
 Quickly come, thou sober dame,
 And thy musing poet claim.
 Bear me, where thou lov'st to rove,
 In the deep, dark solemn grove;
 Where on banks of velvet green,
 Peace, with silence, still is seen;
 And Leisure, at the sultry noon,
 On flow'ry carpet flings him down—
 There, sweet Queen! I'll sing thy pleasures
 In enthusiastic measures.¹²

The invocation to Melancholy, the description of her costume, the request that she lead the poet to the solemn depths of the forest, the poet's use of trochaic tetrameter lines rhyming in couplets, the use, in several instances, of exactly the same wording—all are points of close similarity between the two poems. Evans, in line 1, writes:

Come, thou Queen of pensive air,

a supplication analogous to that in line 31 of "Il Penseroso":

Com pensive Nun, devout and pure.

"Sable" is used by Milton to describe Melancholy's stole (l. 35); by Evans to describe her car (l. 2). Milton speaks of Melancholy's "stole of Cypres Lawn" (l. 35); Evans of her "brows with cypress bound" (l. 6). Milton's personification of "Peace" and "Quiet" (l. 45) undoubtedly prompted Evans's "Peace" and "Silence" (l. 12). Similarly, Milton's figure of Leisure taking his pleasure in trim gardens (ll. 49 and 50) must have suggested Evans's figure of Leisure throwing himself down on a "flow'ry carpet" (ll. 13 and 14). Lines 9 and 10 of "To Melancholy":

¹¹ Professor Howard remarks that the two poems have "similarity of verse" and that "To Melancholy" gives evidence of "the influence of 'Il Penseroso' in the opening invocation" (*loc. cit.*).

¹² Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

Bear me, where thou lov'st to rove,
In the deep, dark solemn grove,

are plainly imitative of lines 131-133 of "Il Penseroso":

And when the Sun begins to fling
His flaring beams, me Goddes bring
To arched walks of twilight groves.

Not only in composing the six poems that have been discussed but also in writing paraphrases of the Psalms, Evans was an imitator of Milton. Evans did not select the same Psalms for paraphrase, but, as his own statement shows, he consciously followed Milton's example:

The Holy Scriptures are the true fountain from which to extract the richest draughts of poesy, both as to dignity of matter and embellishment of figures: witness the noble use the great Milton made of them in his marvellous poems, and though few must expect to reach such heights as did that prodigy of learning and genius, yet all according to their ability, may follow his illustrious example. . . .¹³

This examination of Evans's poetry indicates that elsewhere he followed Milton in the same spirit, knowing that he could not "reach such heights as did that prodigy of learning and genius," yet hoping to improve by following Milton's "illustrious example."

A NEW BARLOW POEM

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THE BEST OF Barlow's occasional poems written before *Hasty Pudding* (1793) is this hitherto unpublished poem of thirty-seven octosyllabic couplets¹ on the Sun. The poem bears no title but might well be called "Sunset: in 'Epic Stile.'"² The manuscript contains no corrections and is in perfect condition save for about ten

¹³ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 83. This passage contains the only reference in Evans's volume to Milton.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. K. D. Metcalf, Director of the Library of Harvard University, for permission to publish this poem, which is in the *Barlow Papers*.

² Barlow rarely paid much attention to the selection of a title for his short poems. Of nine occasional poems written from 1777 to July, 1782, only three poems have titles. See Zunder, *The Early Days of Joel Barlow* (New Haven, 1934), pp. 42-44, 65-66, 71-72, 85, 98-99, 126-127, 137-138, 153-154.

blurred and blotted words in the last eight couplets. In lines 40, 50, 58 appear examples of the erratic spelling found in much of Barlow's early private correspondence and other writing in his hand. The handwriting throughout the manuscript of "Sunset" is of the period from 1785 to 1788 when Barlow was living at Hartford, Connecticut. At this time he was revising *The Vision of Columbus* (1787) for publication but did not allow any of its grandiose phrases to reverberate in the mock-heroic strains of "Sunset."

Of interest in the following poem are the references to Benedict Arnold (l. 40), "Captain Kids and Chevy Chases" (l. 54) and bundling (l. 29):

[SUNSET: IN "EPIC STILE"]

The sun, who sails secure in ether
But never stops for stormy weather,
Who toils all day in great commotion,
And moors at night in midst of ocean—
(This suits, you'll say, with days of yore,
Full twenty ages back or more,
Before he took the charge of nature,
And grew a circumnavigator.
Tho' now he's taught by learned men
To steer quite round & back again;
And when he can't have stars to guide him,
His ready compass stands beside him;
With this he veers at different stations,
And marks all Halley's variations,
By log and line his course to make good,
And finds his way as well as Drake could)
The sun, who his day's work attends to,
But goes to bed as soon as hens do,
Had now regain'd his last night's quarters,
And spread his couch beneath the waters;
The little squintey'd moon, half blind,
Who all that day rode close behind,
Lest in the dark she'd chance to lose him,
Leap'd off to snuggle in his bosom;
Dame Twilight march'd behind in form,
Soon as she tho't the bed was warm;
While Hesper, like a prudent father,
When thus he found they'd gone together,
For fear the lusty rogues would bundle,

Went down himself to hold the candle.

The sun (pray, reader, dont be fretting,
Because he seems so long in setting;
When set he must, 'tis worth our while
To have it done in epic stile;
For what avails for me to write,
Just *now 'tis day & now 'tis night?*
We ought to mark the course of nature,
Which gives us more poetic matter
Than all the story I could tell
How Belzebub or Arnold fell:
Besides, to lengthen out a subject,
With puny bards, is no mean project,
To every Muse's song they link on
Things that no Muse could ever think on,
And raise the work, in bulk, full twice
As high, &, if it sells, in price.
This very piece, which now I pen here,
From such dilations had it been clear,
Had fill'd of fools-cap half a sheet,
And cry'd at too [*sic*] pence thro' the street;

But now, preserv'd from pedler's pack,
From lighting pipe & turning jack,
From holding still more menial places
With Captain Kids & Chevy Chases,
I see it grow, as I shall handle it,
And swell from ballad up to pamphlet,
Or else, secure'd in deathless jingle,
Bound in one volume with M^cFingal,
It braves, for ages, vaults & sewers,
And mice & critics & reviewers.
Then let me lengthen out my lay,
And sing to sleep the God of day,
Tell how he sate in ancient time,
And how he still may set in rhyme.
If thus you give me leave, my friend,
I then will hasten to [the] end;
Resume the tale I l[eft] before,
Disturb'd with falling sun no more;
If well, this once, as[leep?] I stow him
He sets no more in[side?] this poem.)
The sun, I say, wh[ose] wheels were sink[ing]

As at the sea his s[teed]s were drinking,
Sprang from the s[ur]f, as light as cork,
And left all natu[r]e in the dark.

THE MARRIAGE OF POE'S PARENTS

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CONSIDERING the wealth of biographical writing concerning Edgar Poe, it is surprising that no complete and accurate account of the theatrical careers of David and Elizabeth Arnold Hopkins Poe has been published. Woodberry made the first serious effort to trace these careers, but as he states¹ his memoranda "were made, not with a view to a complete account of the careers involved, but to showing the sequence of engagements and the character of the acting." But in theatrical history, one of the essentials is completeness, for the persistent errors concerning the variety and importance of the parts sustained by Poe's parents are due to the fact that no biographer of Poe has really been aware of their significance. Mr. Hervey Allen, believing that the matter was "of minor importance,"² contented himself with information largely of a secondary nature, and depended usually on Woodberry. Since practically all we know of Poe's parents is based on their theatrical careers, it is of vital importance to know accurately their professional standing, the characters they portrayed and the effect upon their children's lives of the circumstances of their own. Miss Mary Phillips made an attempt to supplement Woodberry's account. But her material is not well organized and is often actually misleading.³

I hope in a later publication to present a list of performances of Poe's parents, as complete as is possible. At the moment, I wish to report an important discovery concerning the date and record of their marriage. The manner in which this discovery was made illustrates how a thorough search of the theatrical records will establish biographical facts at present unknown or incorrectly given.

¹ *The Life of Edgar Allan Poe* (Boston, 1909), I, 358.

² *Israfel* (New York, 1926), I, 8 n.

³ A typical error is her statement that David Poe played Jacob in *The Flitch of Bacon* on August 4, 1804, in Richmond. He really played Jacob in *The Road to Ruin*, and Nat Putty in *The Flitch of Bacon*.

Charles Hopkins, a competent actor, met Elizabeth Arnold when he joined Wignell's Company in Philadelphia in March, 1800. He was married to her sometime between June 12, 1802, when she was still announced at the close of the Baltimore season as "Miss Arnold,"⁴ and August 11, when she is announced as "Mrs. Hopkins" when she played Fanny in *The Shipwreck*⁵ at Alexandria, Virginia. Mr. and Mrs. Hopkins played regularly with Green's Virginia Company, which David Poe joined at Richmond on June 30, 1804, playing Henry⁶ to her Susan Ashfield in Morton's *Speed the Plough*. Hopkins died October 26, 1805,⁷ at Washington, D. C., and the theater season closed December 21.

During the Richmond season, from January to May, 1806, both Poe and Mrs. Hopkins added some interesting roles to their repertoires. Mrs. Hopkins played the trying part of Sophia Woodbine and Poe the equally difficult role of Villars, suspected but innocent of evil, in *The Blind Bargain*. For Mrs. Hopkins's benefit on March 29, she played the leading part of Lady Randolph in Home's *Douglas*, "for the first time and that night only." On February 22, Poe and Mrs. Hopkins took the leading parts of Harry Harebrain and Harriet Manly in Dibdin's comedy, *The Will for the Deed*, announced as "performed for the first time in America." Since Harry runs away from his father to join a troupe of actors, the part was probably appealing to David Poe.

Woodberry tells us that "within a month, [after Hopkins's death] Mr. Poe, with some pecuniary aid from a friend (for these actors were always poor), married Mrs. Hopkins,"⁸ but gives no supporting evidence. He also gives in his list of performances "Richmond, Feb. 1806. Mr. and Mrs. Poe."⁹ Mr. Hervey Allen, after paraphrasing Woodberry's statement, speculates further: "Whether the young widow's haste was due to the natural ardor of her temperament or the failure of the deceased to engage her affections,

⁴ *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, June 12, 1802.

⁵ *Columbian Advertiser* of Alexandria, Aug. 11, 1802. The files of this period are not complete, nor are the casts always given. Marriage records of Baltimore show no record of a marriage between March 1 and August 15.

⁶ Miss Phillips, I, 60, gives "Hewey" as Poe's part, following what is evidently a typographical error of J. H. Whitty, Appendix, p. 197, to his *The Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, revised ed., 1917.

⁷ *Virginia Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* of Richmond, Nov. 6, 1805; *National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, Nov. 29, 1805.

⁸ *Life of Poe*, I, 9.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 361.

must remain in those realms of speculation sacred to theologians."¹⁰ Mr. Allen also states without any reference, that David Poe and Elizabeth Hopkins were married in January, 1806.¹¹ Miss Phillips is more cautious, for she states that the marriage took place "some months later,"¹² but gives also no supporting authority.

In making the survey of the Richmond seasons, I fortunately secured the services of Miss Mary F. Goodwin, Historiographer of the Diocese of South Virginia, who made a day-by-day search of several of the Richmond newspapers. When her report for the spring of 1806 came, it was at once apparent that Woodberry and those who had followed him were incorrect. The *Virginia Gazette* of April 5, 1806, announced that "Mrs. Hopkins" was to play Irene in *Blue Beard* on April 7, while on April 9 the advertisement assigned the leading parts of Malford and Mrs. Malford in *The Soldier's Daughter* for April 10 to "Mr. and Mrs. Poe." This seemed to fix the date of their marriage as April 8. But since actresses frequently kept their earlier stage names after remarriage, I urged Miss Goodwin to make further search among the records in Richmond. The city records revealed nothing. But the Henrico County Court-house, situated near the houses where actors were accustomed to stay in those days, contained the marriage bond of David Poe and Mrs. Eliza Hopkins, dated March 14, 1806. By a curious mistake of the clerk in those days, the following bond had been filed with those of 1800, endorsed as was frequently done at that time, "1806."

Know all men by these presents that we David Poe jr and..... are held and firmly bound unto William H Cabell Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia in the sum of one hundred and fifty Dollars to* the payment whereof well and truly to be made to said Governor and his successors for the use of said Commonwealth

We bind ourselves our heirs ex[ecut]ors and ad[ministrat]ors jointly and severally firmly by these presents sealed with our seals and dated this 14th of March 1806

The Condition of the above obligation is such that whereon a marriage is intended to be had and consummated between the above bound David Poe jr and Mrs Eliza Hopkins widow of Charles D Hopkins dec[ease]d of the City of Richmond If therefore there be no lawful

¹⁰ *Israfel*, I, 10.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, II, 853.

¹² I, 62.

* This word is illegible in the original bond, which is written by hand. In later printed forms of marriage bonds, the word is "to."

'cause to obstruct the said marriage then this obligation to be void else to remain in full force and virtue

Executed in the presence of David Poe Jr (seal)

George Chesman

James Whitelaw (seal)

The marriage therefore took place between March 14 and April 9, 1806, and since Easter fell on April 6, perhaps the actors took a brief honeymoon on that day. In any case, criticism, direct or implied, of undue haste in the wedding proves unwarranted. Any one familiar with the theatrical conditions of that time knows that the lot of a widowed girl of nineteen would have been difficult if not impossible. One has only to read the description of the disorders which took place both behind the scenes and in the audiences,¹³ to make any speculation concerning her acceptance of David Poe's protection unnecessary. How well he tried to protect her is revealed years later in the testimony of J. T. Buckingham, the editor of the *Polyanthos*, one of the most influential journals of Boston:

Mr. Poe—the father of the late Edgar A. Poe,—took offence at a remark on his wife's acting, and called at my house to chastise my impertinence, but went away without effecting his purpose. Both he and his wife were performers of considerable merit, but somewhat vain of their personal accomplishments.¹⁴

If the visit of David Poe was prompted by the criticism of Mrs. Poe's performance in "Little Pickle" in *The Spoiled Child*, "We never knew before that the Spoiled Child belonged to that class of beings termed hermaphroditical, as the uncouthness of his costume seemed to indicate,"¹⁵ we can only sympathize with the natural resentment of a gentleman.

A NOTE ON POE'S "BERENICE"

FRANK DAVIDSON

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AFTER EDGAR ALLAN POE had submitted his "Berenice" to the *Southern Literary Messenger*, he replied to T. W. White's criticism of it with the explanation that it was of a type that was

¹³ See *Norfolk Herald* for April 14, 1803, for an account of the pugilistic exercises which took place while Mrs. Hopkins was acting Moggy McGilpin in *The Highland Reel* on April 12.

¹⁴ Joseph T. Buckingham, *Personal Memoirs and Recollections of Editorial Life* (Boston, 1852), I, 57.

¹⁵ *Polyanthos*, IV, 282 (March, 1807).

achieving celebrity in magazines.¹ As examples of the type he mentioned Thomas Maginn's "The Man in the Bell," DeQuincey's "Confessions of an English Opium Eater," and Bulwer's "Monos and Daimonos" and "A Manuscript Found in a Madhouse." All of these except the last have been easily accessible. Of "A Manuscript" Professor Napier Wilt wrote:

Although Poe speaks of a "A MS. Found in a Madhouse" as "of the London New Monthly" and "by . . . Bulwer," no article by this title has been found; neither the *New Monthly Magazine* nor the collected works of Bulwer contain any tale which suggests it.²

Such a tale was printed in one of the American annuals, *Affection's Gift* for 1854.³ It was listed in the "Contents" as "Manuscript Found in a Madhouse, E. L. Bulwer." Though this particular printing was too late for Poe to have seen, it does afford evidence of Bulwer's having composed such a narrative.

The story is of a benevolent genius who has been hideously deformed from birth—whose countenance is a horror. Denied human love and sympathy, he has developed such an affection for nature as gives him insight into its beauty and mystery and makes of him a poet. Unintentionally he overhears a beautiful girl tell her companions that in a lover she asks not beauty but genius and affection. Under the mask of night he courts her with his songs, confessing his deformity, but pleading his love. She sets him the task of winning the acclaim of others as he has won hers. This he accomplishes and then returns. The two meet often at night. When she can no longer conceal her pregnancy, she consents to marriage. But her lover's hideousness is beyond what she had anticipated, and she faints at the altar and is borne away. He comes secretly to her room, finds her corpse and near it a dead infant, the image of himself. He carries the bodies to a cavern in the woods, where, famishing for love, he "played with the worms—that played with them."

¹ Quoted by Napier Wilt in "Poe's Attitude toward His Tales," *Modern Philology*, XXV, 101-105 (Aug., 1927).

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

³ *Affection's Gift; A Christmas, New Year, and Birthday Present for MDCCCLIV* (Philadelphia, 1854), pp. 53-64.

WHITMAN'S NEW YORK AURORA*

JOSEPH JAY RUBIN

The Pennsylvania State College

IT IS POSSIBLE to announce the discovery of a complete file of the *New York Aurora*, the daily newspaper which Walt Whitman edited in the early part of 1842.¹ The *Union List of American Newspapers* mentions that files of the *Aurora* for N24 1842-N23 1843 are in the library at Paterson, New Jersey;² an examination by the writer revealed that the files start November 24, 1841, thus spanning Whitman's editorship.

Whitman's editorship commenced formally on March 28, 1842, when publishers Herrick & Ropes announced:

The publishers of the *Aurora* would respectfully announce to their friends and the public that they have secured the services of Mr. WALTER WHITMAN, favorably known as a bold, energetic and original writer, as their leading editor. The addition of Mr. W. to the editorial department of the *Aurora*, the publishers feel assured will enable them to carry out their original design of establishing a sound, fearless and independent daily paper, which shall at all times and on all occasions advocate and sustain the dignity and interest of our country. The American public have severely felt the want of a journal thoroughly imbued with a true American spirit. . . .

Whitman, however, had been working and writing for the *Aurora* before March 28. Thomas Low Nichols, his predecessor, had severed his association with the newspaper by February 22, 1842; in his autobiography *Forty Years of American Life*, Nichols mentions having known his successor when Whitman was a journeyman printer.³ On March 8, an editorial appeared in the *Aurora* on McDonald Clarke, the "Mad Poet," whose pitiful life had ended three days before:

He seems to have been a simple, kindly creature—a being whose soul, though marked by little that the crowd admire, was totally free from

* I wish to acknowledge the aid of the staff of the Paterson Library, Professors D. Lee and W. L. Werner of The Pennsylvania State College, and Emory Holloway of Queens College.

¹ See *Complete Prose*, p. 188; and *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, II, 87.

² P. 462.

³ T. L. Nichols, *Forty Years of American Life* (1937, New York reprint of the 1874 ed.), p. 409.

any taint of vice, or selfishness, or evil passion. From his peculiarities, he was exposed to the ridicule of vulgar men, who seldom go beyond externals; yet Clarke possessed all the requisites of a great poet. . . .

In the *Brooklyn Eagle*, June 13, 1846, Whitman described his excursion to Greenwood Cemetery, Clarke's resting place. He repeated, with only a few changes, the entire *Aurora* editorial.⁴

Of possible Whitman material in the *Aurora*, two poems are recognizably his. The first, signed with the initial W., was published on March 18, 1842:

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF McDONALD CLARKE. A PARODY.⁵

Not a sigh was heard, not a tear was shed,
As away to the "tombs"⁶ he was hurried,
No mother or friend held his dying head,
Or wept when the poet was buried.

They buried him lonely; no friend stood near,
(The scoffs of the multitude spurning,)
To weep o'er the poet's sacred bier;
No bosom with anguish was burning.

No polish'd coffin enclosed his breast,
Nor in purple or linen they wound him,
As a stranger he died; he went to his rest
With cold charity's shroud wrapt 'round him.

Few and cold were the prayers they said,
Cold and dry was the cheek of sadness,
Not a tear of grief baptised his head,
Nor of sympathy pardon'd his madness.

None thought, as they stood by his lowly bed,
Of the griefs and pains that craz'd him;
None thought of the sorrow that turn'd his head,
Of the vileness of those who prais'd him.

Lightly they speak of his anguish and woe,
And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him,
But whatever he was that was evil below,
Unkindness and cruelty made him.

⁴ The rest of the *Aurora* editorial corresponds to II, 110-113, *The Gathering of the Forces*.

⁵ The poem parodied is Charles Wolfe's "The Burial of Sir John Moore at Corunna."

⁶ The New York prison where Clarke had been held.

Ye hypocrites! stain not his grave with a tear,
 Nor blast the fresh planted willow
 That weeps o'er his grave; for while he was here,
 Ye refused him a crumb and a pillow.

Darkly and sadly his spirit has fled,
 But his name will long linger in story;
 He needs not a stone to hallow his bed;
 He's in Heaven, encircled with glory.

W.

The second poem was published April 9, under the full signature of the editor:

TIME TO COME.⁷

BY WALTER WHITMAN.

O, Death! a black and pierceless pall
 Hangs round thee, and the future state;
 No eye may see, no mind may grasp
 That mystery of Fate.

This brain, which now alternate throbs
 With swelling hope and gloomy fear;
 This heart, with all the changing hues,
 That mortal passions bear—

This curious frame of human mould,
 Where unrequited cravings play,
 This brain, and heart, and wondrous form
 Must all alike decay.

The leaping blood will stop its flow;
 The hoarse death-struggle pass; the cheek
 Lay bloomless, and the liquid tongue
 Will then forget to speak.

The grave will take me; earth will close
 O'er cold dull limbs and ashy face;
 But where, O, Nature, where shall be
 The soul's abiding place?

⁷ Cf. "Our Future Lot," *Uncollected Poetry and Prose*, I, 1-2. The publication by Whitman of this signed revision of "Our Future Lot" justifies the judgment of Professor Holloway, who has stated that "Our Future Lot," even though unsigned, was written by Whitman.

Will it e'en live? for though its light
Must shine till from⁸ the body torn;
 Then, when the oil of life is spent,
 Still shall the taper burn?

O, powerless is this struggling brain
 To rend the mighty mystery;
 In dark, uncertain awe it waits
 The common doom, to die.

A PASSAGE IN "THANATOPSIS"

CHARLES WASHBURN NICHOLS

University of Minnesota

IN A RECENT reading of Lamb's "New Year's Eve" I was struck by the correspondence of phrasing between his carelessly quoted "lie down with kings and emperors in death" and Bryant's "lie down . . . with kings" passage in "Thanatopsis." In a hunt for Lamb's "quotation" I turned to the *Urn Burial* of his beloved Sir Thomas Browne, and found a somewhat similar passage, which is now recognized as based upon two verses in the Book of Job. Lamb's phrasing, however, seems to echo Job rather than Browne. Bryant's similar phrasing seems too close for coincidence, and since I have been unable to discover such a passage in the "graveyard" poets who were read by Bryant before he wrote "Thanatopsis," I am led to the conclusion that he, too, was consciously or unconsciously echoing the Book of Job. Bryant, as we know, was familiar with Job at a very early age. It is a curious coincidence that both Bryant and Lamb used the more natural word "down," after "lie"—a word preferred by the later American Revised Version, whereas the "Authorized Version" read "lain still." The four passages are as follows:

1. For now should I have lain still and been quiet, I should have slept: then had I been at rest, with kings and counsellors of the earth, which built desolate places for themselves.

Job 3: 13-14.

2. What time the persons of these ossuaries entered the famous nations of the dead, and slept with princes and counsellors, might admit a wide solution.

Sir Thomas Browne, *Urn Burial*,
 Chap. v (1658).

⁸ The original reads "trom."

perspective on the matter the total number of these changes should be correlated both with the changes made for other reasons and with the number of allusions to the forbidden topics which were not altered.

Mr. Cowie's admission is that Mark Twain was inclined to be intellectually lazy in revising his work. He gladly relinquished to Howells the task of revising and pruning his MSS. This is perfectly true. But Mark was uncertain, and rightly so, of his own taste in many other matters besides sex and religion. I would only suggest that such easygoing indifference to his final expression is not conclusive evidence that he was a frustrated satirist. Mark was far from being a meek man. If he had felt as strongly on some matters as Mr. Brooks and Mr. Cowie suppose, he would have put up a fight on a few points at least, even if he yielded others for the sake of peace or respectability.

With Mr. Cowie's suggestion that the evidence of *Huckleberry Finn* requires supplementing by a study of Mark Twain's earlier books, I am heartily in accord. In fact, I am more than in accord. I now have ready for the press the complete text of the original newspaper publication of *Innocents Abroad*. Unfortunately I have yet to discover a publisher willing to bring out the book. The changes are so numerous and so varied, the deletions so extensive, that I hesitate to attempt summarizing them in an article.

I may mention here that, of the tabooed subjects, the original letters contain no more sex than the book does, but have a lot more jesting about religion, or at least about the Bible. In particular, New Testament as well as Old Testament stories are burlesqued unsparingly. To my doubtless prejudiced judgment, however, it appears that the author of these burlesques is not a potential Jonathan Swift but only the crude and heavy-handed columnist of the Virginia City *Enterprise*.

It is entirely possible that I have given the pendulum too brisk a push away from the Brooks thesis. What I am really trying to do is to collect evidence and to prod other people into fresh consideration of both the new evidence and the old. It is time for the critics in the colleges and out of them to stop theorizing on the basis of the limited and equivocal material available in the authorized texts of Mark Twain and to get to work gathering the complete facts from his unpublished letters and from the manuscripts of his books.

RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

I. DISSERTATIONS ON INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS:

The Mind and Art of George Bancroft. Russell Nye (Wisconsin).
The Mind and Art of Timothy Dwight. Lewis Buchanan (Wisconsin).

A Critical Biography of Edward Eggleston. William P. Randell (Columbia).

A Critical Edition of the Poems of Ralph Waldo Emerson. Carl F. Strauch (Yale).

Emerson and Economic Reform. John C. Gerber (Chicago).

Franklin and Sectarianism. A. Stuart Pitt (Yale).

The Development of Washington Irving's Political, Social, and Literary Theories. P. K. McCarter (Wisconsin).

The Critical Reputation of Henry James as Revealed in American and British Periodicals, 1875-1916. Richard N. Foley (Catholic University).

Thomas Nelson Page. Alfred McEwen (Virginia). John O. Eidson (Duke) has dropped this subject.

Benjamin P. Shillaber and *The Carpet Bag*. Farron Turner (Pennsylvania).

The Prosody of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*. Henry A. Lowe (Pennsylvania).

Walt Whitman in France. Ray W. Hazlett (Columbia). Mr. Hazlett has dropped the Age of Hamilton and Jefferson.

Whitman in New Orleans. Blanche Foster (Pennsylvania).

II. DISSERTATIONS ON TOPICS OF A GENERAL NATURE:

American Criticism of English Literature, 1870-1910. D. C. Thompson (Harvard).

American Utopias Before 1900. Vernon Louis Parrington, Jr. (Brown).

British-American Folk Ballads Based on a Collection Made in Pennsylvania During the Years 1929-1935, and Consisting of Words and Music, with Editorial Comment. S. P. Bayard (Harvard).

The Conception of Public Duty Found in American Sermons from 1650 to 1750. Ruth Jackson (Radcliffe).

A History of the Boston Stage, 1800-1850. Mary R. Michael (Radcliffe).

The Literature of the American Friends from the First Settlements to 1825. R. N. Morgan (Harvard).

Metaphysical Expression and the Modern American Poets. Sonia Raiziss (Pennsylvania).

The Negro Author Since 1900. Hugh M. Gloster (New York University).

Novels Dealing with the South: 1865-1900. Ashbel Green Brice (Duke).

Studies in the American Vogue of Dickens: The Publication of His Works in America and His Relations with Certain American Authors. Harvey S. Gibson (Duke).

Studies in English Satire and Satirists, with Special Reference to the American Revolution. L. H. Butterfield (Harvard).

III. DISSERTATIONS COMPLETED:

Dr. Samuel Johnson in America: A Study of His Reputation, 1750-1812. Daniel Robert Lang (Illinois, 1939).

Horace Greeley and Humanitarian Reform. Archibald G. Delmarsh, Jr. (Cornell).

Philip Pendleton Cooke, A Biographical and Critical Study. John D. Allen (Vanderbilt).

The Validity of the New Humanist Criticism of Romanticism. David Lee Mounts (Southern California).

The Social Criticism of William Dean Howells. George Warren Arms (New York University).

*University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.*

GREGORY PAINE, *Bibliographer.*

BOOK REVIEWS

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF JOHN GREENLEAF WHITTIER. By Thomas Franklin Currier. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1937. xvi, 692 pp. \$8.00.

While scholars devoted to English writers such as Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton have begun at the logical beginning and taken great pains to establish complete and scientifically edited texts as the absolutely essential basis for any trustworthy interpretative or critical superstructure, it is probably true that scholars devoted to American writers have been too prone to neglect the matter of complete texts, the complete evidence, and have plunged perhaps prematurely into the more exciting but more subjective matter of interpretation and criticism. No English scholar of good standing would dream of trying to write an interpretative or critical essay on Shakespeare or Milton if he knew that he had made use of less than half the evidence. But this sort of thing has been done hundreds of times in the case of American writers, and as a result it is likely that the treatments of many topics in this field will have to be done over, and many generalizations now current will have to be radically revised when *all* the evidence is considered. Many of the editions of the so-called "Complete Works" of our major writers were made in the amateurish days before the ideal of literary study in our universities had turned from general appreciation and subjective "critical estimates" to scientific investigation of the genetic development of an author's mind and art seen against relevant biographical, social, political, religious, and aesthetic backgrounds. This modern ideal, which does not preclude criticism but seeks to provide a substantial basis for it, obviously requires a knowledge of the author's complete writings, good, bad, and indifferent, including all that is uncollected and in the files of obscure magazines, newspapers, letters, etc. Not only must one know all the man's writings, but he must be able to place each piece precisely in the chronological pattern of the author's complex development and changes of attitude year by year. Thus the dates of first publication of each item are of great importance as the indispensable means of genetic study. All this no doubt seems trite enough, but the fact that it has been so generally disregarded seems to make a restatement worth while.

The vast reaches of basic text remaining to be explored in the case of our major writers are strikingly illustrated in Dr. Currier's monumental *Bibliography of John Greenleaf Whittier*. He has found four hundred poems by Whittier not in the so-called *Complete Works* edited by

Pickard; he does not say how much prose has been added to the known list, but it seems likely that it has been at least *tripled*. For example, Dr. Currier finds fifty pieces of literary criticism not in the meagre selection in the *Complete Works*. This is important, because, while the intrinsic value of Whittier's aesthetic theories is no doubt not high, his vast popularity makes him perhaps our best barometer of American literary taste among the masses in the nineteenth century; and thus the full evidence of the theories underlying his writing is of great significance to the social historian and it also enables us to see just how the poet achieved his success as the spokesman of his people. The new prose is especially important, however, as enabling us to obtain a much more complete picture of Whittier's incessant political activities before the Civil War and his contribution to a multitude of social reforms. We need a substantial book, preferably by someone with the training of a social historian, on Whittier's political and social ideas and activities. It might help to break down the notion current in some circles that our major writers represent a "genteel" tradition aloof from the political and social life of their time, and it might also help those addicted to an exclusively economic interpretation of history to see that religious ideals are not negligible. Incidentally, it is interesting to notice that in the light of his comprehensive knowledge Dr. Currier concludes that, although Albert Mordell's *Quaker Militant* (1933) stresses political and social matters, Pickard's *Life and Letters*, as revised over a quarter of a century earlier, "still remains the best" (p. 515).

Dr. Currier points out the enormous difficulty in getting to "know Whittier's prose in its entirety" because the newspapers in which it appeared are either very rare (in some cases only one tattered file exists) or they are found scattered in widely distant libraries. He wisely urges that "steps may be taken to have them all filmed or photostated. There could be," he says, "no more useful expenditure for some generous Whittier enthusiast" (p. 392). When so much is being spent by the government to conserve our physical resources, it seems as if something might be done to help preserve the intellectual and cultural resources of the nation. Before too much time is spent by scholars on premature writing of our literary history and on criticism it seems as if steps should be taken to provide some scientifically edited texts of our major authors including *all* their work.

In view of Dr. Currier's breath-taking contribution, and the monumental thoroughness of his work in general, it seems ludicrously trivial to cite the very few slips I have noted. On page 400, referring to the first four pages of the essay on Dinsmore as now printed in the 1888 edition with their strong plea for a national and naturally rustic literature, he

says, "This early form [1845] does not have" these pages. One might imagine, then, that this literary ideal came very late to Whittier. Actually, however, these important four pages appear in his review entitled "The Poetry of Heart and Home. William H. Burleigh," which appeared in the *National Era* for September 9, 1847; they were later transplanted to the Dinsmore review, but their first appearance in 1847 instead of 1888 makes considerable difference to one who is plotting the curve of Whittier's literary ideals. Throughout his work one must avoid relying only on titles, for he often shifted paragraphs from one essay to another. On page 480 Dr. Currier lists the essay "American Literature Abroad" as being in the *National Era* for August 31, 1847; actually that issue has an instalment of *Margaret Smith's Journal*, and the item mentioned is probably confused with Whittier's comment on an English review of Griswold's anthology which appeared in the *National Era* for August 24. At the top of page 546, in the valuable list of "Biography and Criticism" compiled by Miss Pauline F. Pulsifer of the Haverhill Public Library, the pages of the first item should read 798-816 instead of 798-802. Those who try to find book reviews and criticism in the section devoted to listing Whittier's Prose (pp. 391-438) are in danger of missing certain items if they do not note Dr. Currier's remark (p. 392) that in the prose list "no attempt has been made to cover them exhaustively"; they will be found, however, in the section on newspapers. Occasionally reviews which add to or modify certain studies in important ways might have been noted with profit; such a case is the valuable review by G. W. Allen (*American Literature*, III, 109-111, March, 1931) of J. S. Stevens's monograph on *Whittier's Use of the Bible* (p. 542). In general, needless to say, the work is a marvel of thoroughness and useful arrangement. It should open our eyes to the vast amount that remains to be done in interpreting Whittier.

University of Wisconsin.

HARRY HAYDEN CLARK.

I HEAR AMERICA. . . : *Literature in the United States since 1900*. By Vernon Loggins. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1937. 378 pp. \$2.50.

Mastery of foreshortening is particularly imperative for the historian or critic of contemporary literature. Consequently, the studies which have cast light on the tendencies since 1900 are those that have brought their chaotic material into perspective by a skilful method of measurement, as, for instance, when T. K. Whipple chose ten representative spokesmen for his attempt to answer the questions, posed most urgently by the earlier work of Van Wyck Brooks, of the degree to which our modern writers were expressive of, or adequate to, the needs of a mature

society; or, again, when Granville Hicks applied the more strict principles of Marxist analysis to a comprehensive survey of the whole field. Vernon Loggins has apparently wanted to be more inclusive than Whipple and more flexible than Hicks: his aim has been to "treat forty-four representative authors in their relation to twelve dominating world tendencies." The mechanical sound of that formulation reverberates through the volume. One chief trouble is the arbitrariness of some of Loggins's twelve categories, for although naturalism, Freudian psychology, and social revolution are "world tendencies," the "art of spontaneity" hardly seems one in a comparable sense; nor does its use become clearer when, after grouping under this head only Emily Dickinson and Stephen Crane, Loggins adds parenthetically that this "unpremeditated art" is to be found also in Henry James and Homer. Moreover, even when the category is lucid, as, for example, aestheticism, the wooden result of trying to fit every author into a single groove is manifest from the inclusion here not only of Amy Lowell, Edna Millay, Elinor Wylie, and Thornton Wilder, but also of Maxwell Anderson, Vachel Lindsay, and William Faulkner.

The handling of so many authors also presents another problem which Loggins has not solved. He cannot devote more than eight or ten pages to any individual, and yet has decided to include biography as well as discussion of works. To that end the most fertile suggestion of method has been given by Parrington's condensed intermingling of both materials in his portraits of minds. But Loggins's paragraphs of dates and events are presented without adequate subordination to a critical purpose, and so sprawl over the space that ought to be taken up with detailed analysis. The effect is especially grotesque in the briefer sections, as when the life and entire literary career of Dos Passos are disposed of within three pages.

Loggins has read capaciously and with an enthusiastic appreciation that can find some good word for everybody from Ezra Pound to Fanny Hurst. He has amassed a considerable amount of relevant information of the sort that you expect to find in the biographical notes to an anthology. But his judgments can be inordinately generous, as when he states that Robinson's poetry forms "a *comédie humaine* wider in range than Chaucer's" or that O'Neill "is the one American who deserves to rank with Marcel Proust, James Joyce, and Thomas Mann as probes into the deep inner motives of man's behavior." However, such exaggerations of taste are nothing in comparison with the consequences of his determination to embrace as many writers as possible in a single generalization that can become as meaningless as: "Our most rebellious left-wing critics—headed by Mencken and Eliot, and including among others Ludwig

Lewisohn, Isaac Goldberg, Joseph Wood Krutch, Bernard De Voto, Thomas Beer, Louis Untermeyer, Van Wyck Brooks, Babette Deutsch, Eda Lou Walton, V. F. Calverton, and Granville Hicks—are all dyed-in-the-wool intellectuals, not mere enthusiasts like Wordsworth, Poe, and Whitman.” It would be hard to decide who among those would have the best grounds for libel.

Harvard University.

F. O. MATTHIESSEN.

HUMANISM AND IMAGINATION. By G. R. Elliott. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1938. viii, 253 pp. \$2.50.

It is now ten years since the American Humanists burst from their academic fastnesses to gambol briefly in the world of journalism which they affected to despise. They were bent on saving the world from the dreadful heresy of disagreeing with that version of the past which they had decided was the one true version. It is amusing to list in parallel columns the contributors to *Humanism in America* (1930) and *The Critique of Humanism* (1930) and consider which group has retained the respect and regard of the responsible intelligentsia of the United States. It is not my intention to imply that such a technique in any sense indicates the truth or otherwise of the outlooks of the two groups in general, or of individual members in particular; and certainly I do not intend to state that all members of either group find themselves in essential agreement today just because they were associated a decade ago in a particular enterprise.

Humanism in America

Louis Trenchard More
Irving Babbitt
Paul Elmer More
G. R. Elliott
T. S. Eliot
Frank Jewett Mather, Jr.
Alan Reynolds Thompson
Robert Shafer
Harry Hayden Clark
Stanley P. Chase
Gorham B. Munson
Bernard Bandler II
Sherlock Bronson Gass
Richard Lindley Brown

The Critique of Humanism

C. Hartley Grattan
Edmund Wilson
Malcolm Cowley
Henry Hazlitt
Burton Rascoe
Allen Tate
Kenneth Burke
Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr.
R. P. Blackmur
John Chamberlain
Bernard Bandler II
Yvor Winters
Lewis Mumford

It is well known that the professional mortality is much higher among literary journalists than among literary academicians. A teacher can cease writing without ceasing to teach, whereas a literary journalist who ceases to write simply ceases to be. The record of the group associated with *The Critique of Humanism* is, all things considered, very

remarkable. As far as my information runs, but one member has ceased to write, Bernard Bandler II, the single person who also appeared in *Humanism in America*, which is perhaps the explanation of the phenomenon!

Both Irving Babbitt and Paul Elmer More have died in recent years—it was my rather strange privilege to deliver an obituary discussion of More over the radio from Melbourne, Australia—and without these redoubtable leaders, the vigor of the lesser lights seems to have declined. Or perhaps the true explanation is that they are too busy misleading the young to attempt any further missionary work among the incorrigible heathen of journalism. On occasion some New Yorker of exceptional memory asks me, “Whatever became of the Humanists?” and I am at a loss for a reply. What *has* become of the Humanists?

What has become of one Humanist is shown by the book which inspired these remarks. Professor G. R. Elliott, who always wore his Humanism with a difference, has issued a volume to which he has given a title which joins two incompatibles, *Humanism and Imagination*. On examination it turns out to be a compound of reminiscence, criticism of poetry, vagrom thoughts on theological themes, miscomprehending notes on the current literary scene, flirtings with the Roman Catholic writers, the whole enlivened with an incredibly elephantine facetiousness.

The most illuminating essays in the book—they are really very valuable raw material for the literary historian of tomorrow—are the three dealing with Babbitt, More, and Stuart Sherman respectively. In them he draws upon his personal recollections and makes his subjects credible human beings. Mr. Elliott knew Babbitt intimately and the piece devoted to him gains markedly from that fact. It is not only that he brings Babbitt before us and makes him walk and talk as he did of old, but also that he exhibits Babbitt’s deficiencies with a clarity and honesty which do him credit. What, for example, could be more revelatory than these observations:

His personal lack of interest in current imaginative writings was well-nigh complete . . . he had an amazing acquaintance with [contemporary criticism]. He perused it at once for amusement and for refutation. Often he would snatch up from his table some brand new critical book or article, read aloud to me its most wrong-headed passage, and then define the particular brand of romanticism or naturalism represented by the author.

Fun, don’t you think? Some people like crossword puzzles. And then again there are those who prefer detective stories. Unfortunately, Mr. Elliott knew More personally only slightly, though he had much correspondence with him. The essay on More is, therefore, less vivid than that on Babbitt and, moreover, moves off into the pseudo-theological realm they both delighted to inhabit. But in a fashion quite different

from the Babbitt essay, that on Stuart Sherman is very enjoyable indeed, for it is sharply written and is a quite devastating analysis of this "traitor" to the Cause.

For the rest Mr. Elliott's book is concerned with advancing the claims of "poetic fact" among the Humanists who, by his account, don't think much of it. He would, I think, find the despised journalists more receptive, were it not for the uncomfortable fact that his poetic truth must in some measure also be religious truth—his religion—to meet with his entire approbation. But as I have said, Mr. Elliott never was an orthodox Humanist. How otherwise account for his great admiration for John Keats?

Yet he is capable of such remarks as the following:

American religion, if it is to become catholic enough for America, must learn a great deal from nature on the one hand and, on the other, from the Middle Ages.

The American moving picture is so often immoral because the American countryside has become for most of our citizens nothing but a moving picture.

The true foundation of natural religion has always been and always will be plain economic toil in forest and in field, closely interfused with the spirit of meditation and worship.

What America needs today is agricultural hermits.

New York City.

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN.

A CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION 1481-1927 WITH SUPPLEMENT EMBRACING THE YEARS 1928-1935. By Bayard Quincy Morgan. Second Edition, Completely Revised and Augmented. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1938. xi, 773 pp. \$10.00.

Professor Morgan's completely reworked bibliography of German literature in English translation marks a new epoch in the study of Anglo-German literary relations. In its field it is easily the most significant publication of the year.

This revised edition was originally planned to terminate with the year 1927. Delay in publication suggested the addition of a supplement for the years 1928-1935. Thus the main list of 10,800 entries was increased by the supplement to 15,000, exclusive of three appended lists, namely: Anonyma, 587 items; Bibliographies, 50 items; and Collections of Translations, 577 items. All in all, the new edition brings some 6,000 new titles beyond the number of the first edition of 1922.

Preface and Introduction, totaling forty-one pages, describe the author's method, indicate the criteria governing his procedure in critically evaluating and marking the thousands of translations examined, and supply

charts and tables to indicate waves of vogue of the German authors; an appendix giving the list of translators, together with cross-referenced numbers, by which identification is easily made in the serially numbered main list, completes this model of bibliographical endeavor.

Aside from the purely utilitarian value as a reference work which this compilation has for the student of Anglo-German cultural relations, the painstaking method and critical acumen of the bibliographer in marking the varying excellence or deficiency of the translations make the book as valuable to the critic as to the literary historian.

By a liberal interpretation of the word "literature," Professor Morgan has chosen to incorporate into the new edition a considerable number of German authors not generally classified as men of letters, but men whose ideas have a distinct and often potent effect on the purely literary tradition. An example is the forty translations listed of various ones of Freud's writings.

Another very valuable addition made in this new edition is that the author has supplied information regarding the contents of the more important of the 577 anthologies or collections of German literature in English translation.

An interesting claim which the author makes for his bibliography is this: "For the first time, I believe, an entire national literature is here seen through the distorting medium of another language; and the resulting picture, as has been clearly recognized by students everywhere, is totally different from that given by the histories of literature or indeed any other critical source." Significant as this feature of Mr. Morgan's book is to the student of German literature, the student of American literature has even greater cause to be grateful to the bibliographer. Indeed, it is not too much to say that this book, together with Professor Lawrence M. Price's several studies of the reciprocal aspect of Anglo-German literary relations and the several bibliographical and critical studies of the vogue of German literature in British and American periodicals (most of them originating in Professor A. R. Hohlfield's seminar), places this particular department of comparative literature in a decidedly advantageous position as supplying scholarly tools such as perhaps no other province of comparative literature can boast. This fact will come home especially to the student of American literature when he considers the relative scantiness of the bibliographical and critical work dealing with the vogue and influence of other European literatures in America.

University of Wisconsin.

HENRY A. POCHMANN.

O. HENRY *ALS MYSTIKER*. By Dr. Heinz Noack. Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt Verlag. 1937. 100 pp. RM 4.50.

Although Dr. Noack contributes no new information on O. Henry, his emphasis on the subjective element in the author's work and his massing of illustrations to sustain the interpretation indicated in the phrase *als Mystiker* make for an essentially new critical contribution. Dr. Noack sees in O. Henry an idealistic humanitarian whose short stories reflect a determinable philosophy of life—a philosophy which, however, is nowhere systematically set forth but rather is given by means of hints and the suggestive remarks of fictional characters. The argument advanced in support of this view is briefly as follows. Evidence of O. Henry's mystical or philosophical bent of mind is found in his strong interest in universal themes; in his desire to treat human nature not provincially but as it might show itself against any background; in his belief in the metamorphic power of love in human affairs; in his treatment of love not biologically or rationally but ideally; in his indirect defense of the brotherhood of man, which in his fiction embraces the criminal, the unfortunate, the social misfit; in his awareness of the mysterious everywhere in human life. Most of all one finds significant evidence in O. Henry's references to the unexplained forces at work when, in a crisis, a human being comes face to face with his innermost self. Finally, there is the matter of O. Henry's emphasis on external nature, with which he was constantly preoccupied. His feeling for nature seems to Dr. Noack to be akin to that of Emerson, and leads to a discussion, in a final chapter, of Emerson as a possible source of influence on him and of the parallels to be found in the thought and emotional reaction of the two authors.

The conception of O. Henry as a mystic is capably presented, and is probably made as convincing as the matter supporting it will allow. The present reviewer feels that much which is discussed as evidence of mysticism is merely the outcropping of O. Henry's sentimentality; but to stress such a divergence of opinion is uncalled-for, since Dr. Noack has already been at pains to make clear that O. Henry is a controversial figure.

The University of Kansas.

JOHN HERBERT NELSON.

QUOD GENUS HOC HOMINUM? INKLE AND YARICO ALBUM. Selected and Arranged by Lawrence Marsden Price. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. 171 pp. \$2.50.

"Toward the middle of the seventeenth century there lived an Indian maid named Yarico. She was born on the mainland of North America not far from the coast. She saved a stranded white man from death at the hands of her fellow tribesmen, fled with him to a vessel, sailed with

him to Barbadoes, and was sold by him into slavery" (p. 135). Here is the gist of the once-famous story of Inkle and Yarico. First told in Richard Ligon's *True and Exact History of the Island of Barbados* (1657), it was repeated with pathetic embellishments by Steele in *Spectator* No. 11. How the rising tide of sentimental primitivism made the subject popular in eighteenth-century English poetry and drama, and how from England it spread to France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, America, the Scandinavian countries and even to Hungary and Russia, has been shown by Professor Price in this handsomely printed and engagingly illustrated little book. Chapters tracing the history of the theme in England, in France, and in Germany and Switzerland are followed by a chronology of the subject, a body of notes, an extensive bibliography arranged by nations, and an index. Three rare English poems on the subject are reprinted.

Except for the fact that the Inkle and Yarico story originated on these shores and later had a few very faint American repercussions, the book does not closely pertain to the special concerns of readers of this journal. But although even from a broader viewpoint one can hardly say that it satisfies any very urgent need of scholarship, the worker in comparative literature will find it interesting as a close study of the growth and spread of a single germ of narrative. Granting the need for such a study, there can be no dispute as to the thoroughness with which it has been performed. To say that George Colman the younger treated the story "in a gay and trivial fashion" (p. 43) slightly underemphasizes the sentimental earnestness which mingles so curiously with the humor of his opera. Professor Price might also observe that the popularity of poems with such titles as *An Epistle from Yarico to Inkle* reflects the influence of Pope's *Eloisa to Abelard*.

Here as always, exhaustiveness is an unattainable ideal. I find no mention of Stephen Duck's *Avaro and Amanda*,¹ which tells the tale with no change but that of names, or of William Pattison's fragmentary epistle, *Yarico to Inkle*.² But I am not at all disturbed by the omission of the fact that there is a black horse named Yarico in George Eliot's *Felix Holt*.

Columbia University.

Hoxie N. Fairchild.

MY COUSIN MARK TWAIN. By Cyril Clemens. With an Introduction by Booth Tarkington. Emmaus, Pa.: Rodale Press. 1939. [xii], 219 pp. \$2.00.

The woman who enjoyed Shakespeare's plays because they were so full of quotations will enjoy this latest biography of Mark Twain—Is it the twelfth since 1900, besides his own records?

¹ Stephen Duck, *Poems on Several Occasions* (4th ed., 1764), pp. 61-75.

² William Pattison, *Poetical Works* (1728), I, 53-54.

Mr. Cyril Clemens strings together on a loose chronological cord some two hundred anecdotes gleaned from former biographies, from his own family records, and from contributions to the International Mark Twain Society. Because many life-histories that get themselves published have been assembled in much the same way, Mr. De Voto's recent strictures upon this author's methods display a rather thankless anxiety for the cause of scholarship.

There are two contributions in the book: the frontispiece, a picture of Sam Clemens at twenty-one, just before he went on the River, published here for the first time; and some accounts of Mark Twain in London and Vienna. We see the humorist irritated because a very serious Londoner criticizes his "beastly American accent" and we have a glimpse of him as something of a belle in Vienna, before his friends called him The Belle of New York.

In general, however, Mark Twain's gaiety and charm are lost out of this humorless retelling, though the author has achieved a fairly readable book—not for the penetrating analysis which the careful student desires, but for the kind of gossip about a noted man which pleases the palate of believe-it-or-not readers.

The University of Missouri.

M. M. BRASHEAR.

DAILY MEDITATIONS. By Philip Pain. Reproduced from the Original Edition of 1688 in the Huntington Library. With an Introduction by Leon Howard. San Marino, California: Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery. 1936. 36 pp. \$0.75.

The 1668 edition of Pain's *Daily Meditations*, republished under the editorship of Mr. Leon Howard, is chiefly important for being one of the few works of what might be called poetry issued by the press of Cambridge in Massachusetts Bay during the seventeenth century, and for having been for centuries a "lost book," rediscovered only in 1923. American letters would have suffered no great deprivation had the book remained in limbo, for the verse is distinctly inferior to much of the early Puritan writing and pales into insignificance before the poetry of the Reverend Edward Taylor which Mr. Thomas Johnson has recently unearthed. Still, as a memento of the Puritan mind it is not without interest, especially as it indicates the influence upon a young Puritan versifier not only of Quarles—which might be expected—but also of Herbert. That the obscure Philip Pain, about whom Mr. Howard can discover nothing beyond the patent fact of his Puritanism, should show the effects of an assiduous study of Herbert, as also does Taylor, indicates again how much of what we loosely call Puritanism was in truth the prevailing piety of the seventeenth century, common both to Puri-

tans and Anglicans, which could be expressed by either in almost identical terms as long as the specific issues of church polity, politics, and theology were not involved.

Harvard University.

PERRY MILLER.

A MARK TWAIN LEXICON. By Robert L. Ramsay and Frances Guthrie Emberson. University of Missouri Studies, XIII, No. 1. Columbia, Mo.: The University of Missouri. 1938. cxix, 278 pp. \$1.25.

The lexicon has the spirit that many have missed in the *Historical Dictionary of American English*. It is a great comfort for them to find that Mark Twain keeps his American flavor even in a dictionary. Professor Ramsay and his students have given us so many valuable studies of the English language in America that a reader of the present volume should not be surprised by its excellence. But still he may confess to unexpected feelings of pleasure, for Mark Twain is always surprising and delightful, and the scholarly apparatus of Professor Ramsay and Dr. Emberson is most eloquent in martialing his language.

The authors are very reasonable in their discussion of Americanisms, and we can agree with the statement, "Wherever he [Mark Twain] speaks consciously, or makes his characters speak, as Americans, his usage is good evidence for the Americanism of his language." This is true even though or because Mark Twain was a creator of Americanisms. The quotations of this lexicon give a total of 4,342 entries for which Mark Twain gives the earliest recorded literary evidence. He knew the "bulliest words in the language," "he exploited three hundred and sixty-five red-hot new eagernesses every year of his life," and he suffered from the "compounding disease," bless him!

More than 2,700 words, combinations, and meanings employed by Mark Twain have hitherto been omitted from all dictionaries—over one-third of this *Mark Twain Lexicon*. Forty per cent of its total are lacking in the *Oxford*, forty-five per cent in the *Standard*, fifty-five per cent in the *Century*. The lexicon has 958 entries wherein Mark Twain provides an earlier quotation than (or one as early as) the earliest quotation given in the *Oxford Dictionary*. Dictionary makers and lovers of Mark Twain cannot do without this book. Fortunately the *D. A. E.* has had the co-operation of Professor Ramsay and his seminar, and we hope that other scholars equally competent will undertake linguistic studies of American authors.

Barnard College, Columbia University.

CABELL GREET.

BRIEF MENTION

PARADISE PLANTERS: *The Story of Brook Farm*. By Katherine Burton. London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. x, 336 pp. \$2.50.

Professing in its Foreword to be "fact and not fiction," *Paradise Planters* represents an attempt, in the manner of Van Wyck Brooks, to put the live flesh of human speech and the whimsies of personality on the dry bones of history. The general outline of the story of Brook Farm is correctly traced and the details are frequently enlightening. Occasionally the author seems to be unaware of what she has said on a preceding page, and the minor inaccuracies are legion. For example, "every number" of the *Dial* included the "German philosophers"; Stearns Wheeler is made a "professor" at Harvard; the transcendental "epoch in metaphysical thought" is taken to be a kind of offshoot from Locke; Alcott, in the earliest days of the Symposium, is alleged to have objected to the idea of an impersonal deity; Goethe's remark on the society of literary men is attributed to Kant—all these in the first eleven pages. The bibliography at the end of the book shows only too well that some of the recent scholarly material on Brook Farm and on transcendentalism is unknown to the author.

Less critical readers will probably derive no sense of pain from such inaccuracies—and the student who wants to hear all the "bright" remarks about the community may find a pleasure in having them rehearsed in these pages. Although the opportunity was at hand, the author has in no case distorted her facts to produce a caricature—and, unlike Lindsay Swift, she never seems to be laughing up her sleeve at the foibles of the distinguished phalansterians.

A WHITMAN MANUSCRIPT: *From the Albert M. Bender Collection of Mills College*. [Oakland, Calif.]: The Bibliophile Society of Mills College. 1939. 21 pp.

The poem "Waves in the Vessel's Wake" is reproduced in facsimile and various comments are added, chiefly of a textual nature.

UNION LIST OF SERIALS OF THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY REGION. Compiled by Special Libraries Association, San Francisco Bay Region Chapter. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press. 1939. v, 283 pp. Lithoprinted. \$5.00.

"This list is a compilation of the serial publications in forty libraries of the San Francisco Bay Region whose holdings are not contained in the

'Union List of Serials of the United States and Canada,' edited by Winifred Gregory" (Preface by Anita M. Levy).

JUDAISM AND THE AMERICAN MIND: *In Theory and Practice*. By Philip D. Bookstaber. With a Foreword by David Philipson. New York: Bloch Publishing Co. 1939. xxiii, 248 pp. \$2.50.

The author is rather nebulous about the "American Mind" and devotes his attention to expository propaganda.

HERMAN MELVILLE: *Author and New Yorker, 1844-1851*. By Luther Stearns Mansfield. Private Edition. Chicago: Distributed by The University of Chicago Libraries. 1938. iii, 19 pp.

A portion of Mr. Mansfield's doctoral dissertation, "Some Aspects of Melville's Reading."

THE COQUETTE: *Or, The History of Eliza Wharton*. By Hannah Webster Foster. Reproduced from the Original Edition of 1797 with an Introduction by Herbert Ross Brown. Published for The Facsimile Text Society. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. xix, 262 pp. \$2.60.

Because this early American novel has not been reprinted since 1874, students of American literature will find the present reproduction of great use. The Introduction is, of course, authoritative and thorough.

LEAVES OF GRASS. By Walt Whitman. Reproduced from the First Edition (1855), with an Introduction by Clifton Joseph Furness. Published for The Facsimile Text Society. New York: Columbia University Press. 1939. xviii, 95 pp. \$2.00.

The Mosher reproduction of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass* is somewhat difficult to procure, and, accordingly, many libraries and collectors will be glad to have the present work, which in appearance is decidedly inferior. The Introduction, however, is much fuller in detail.

COLLECTED POEMS OF ROBERT FROST. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1939. 436 pp. \$5.00.

Mr. Frost's Introduction on "The Figure a Poem Makes" explains the essential elements of his poetical theory.

A PECULIAR TREASURE. By Edna Ferber. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc. 1939. 398 pp. \$3.00.

This autobiography has little of interest to offer the student of American literature, other than the presentation of the history and background

of Miss Ferber's own works. The chief exception, if indeed it be an exception, is in the sections devoted to her dramatic ventures and to her early activities as a writer for newspapers. The recollections of life in Middle Western towns of her youth seem to be the most valuable aspects of the social history contained in the volume.

THE OREGON TRAIL: *The Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean*. Compiled and Written by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration. Sponsored by Oregon Trail Memorial Association, Inc. New York: Hastings House. 1939. xii, 243 pp. \$2.00.

The preliminary historical sketch seems to be unusually thorough. A few corrections of mistakes in Irving's writings on the West appear.

DEATH VALLEY: *A Guide*. Written and Compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the Works Progress Administration of Northern California. Sponsored by The Bret Harte Associates. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1939. xv, 75 pp. \$1.00.

Compared with the work mentioned immediately above, this book is much more attractively printed and illustrated, but the historical elements are reduced to a bare minimum.

THREE AMERICANISTS: Henry Harrissee, Bibliographer; George Brinley, Book Collector; Thomas Jefferson, Librarian. By Randolph G. Adams. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1939. 101 pp. \$1.50.

Lectures on the interests and activities of three distinguished American bibliophiles.

C. G.

ARTICLES ON AMERICAN LITERATURE APPEARING IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

This annotated check-list has been compiled by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Literature Group of the Modern Language Association: Nelson F. Adkins (New York University), Gay W. Allen (Bowling Green State University), Walter Blair (University of Chicago), Herbert R. Brown (Bowdoin College), Guy A. Cardwell, Jr. (Tulane University), Arthur E. Christy (Columbia University), George E. Hastings (University of Arkansas), Ima H. Herron (Southern Methodist University), Robert J. Kane (Ohio State University), J. H. Nelson (University of Kansas), Robert L. Shurter (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), Herman E. Spivey (University of Florida), Theodore A. Zunder (Brooklyn College).

Items for the check-list to be published in the November number of *American Literature* may be sent to the chairman of the committee, Gregory Paine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

I. 1607-1800

[CRÈVECOEUR, M. G. J. DE] Masterson, James R. "The Tale of the Living Fang." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 63-73 (Mar., 1939).

The tall tale of a New Jersey rattlesnake, related in *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782), had been told by Captain Walduck in a paper read before the Royal Society, Jan. 7, 1713/4, and is still current in Texas cowboy stories.

[FRENEAU, PHILIP] Dondore, Dorothy. "Freneau's *The British Prison-Ship* and Historical Accuracy." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 228-230 (Mar., 1939).

A comparison of Freneau's poem with a British report entitled *Account of the Principal Lazarettos in Europe; With . . . Additional Remarks on the Present State of Those in Great Britain and Ireland* (2d ed.; London, 1791) shows "that the treatment Freneau excoriated was inspired by no malevolence toward rebels; . . . it was a transitory phase of the British penal system, condemned by the humane, which was applied not merely in America, but in the mother-country, to young and old, unfortunate and vicious, entirely without discrimination."

Marsh, Philip M. "Philip Freneau and His Circle." *Pa. Mag. of Hist. and Biog.*, LXIII, 37-59 (Jan., 1939).

A detailed biographical sketch, with emphasis on his friendships and business relations. "His real attachments were to men . . . of genuine culture, refinement, and literary tastes."

[MATHER, COTTON] Hornberger, Theodore. "Cotton Mather's Annotations on the First Chapter of Genesis." *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826. *Studies in English*, pp. 112-122 (July 8, 1938).

His annotations were drawn largely from six books of the period between 1677 and 1717 and show "his great interest in Newtonian science."

II. 1800-1870

[BRYANT, W. C.] Ladu, Arthur I. "A Note on *Childe Harold* and 'Thanatopsis.'" *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 80-81 (Mar., 1939).

A passage in the thirteenth stanza of the third canto of *Childe Harold*, which reveals close similarity to a passage in the final version of "Thanatopsis," indicates "that probably Byron, in company with other English poets, contributed threads of thought and language" to Bryant's poem.

[CLARK, W. G.] Dunlap, Leslie W. (ed.). "The Letters of Willis Gaylord Clark and Lewis Gaylord Clark." *Bul. N. Y. Pub. Lib.*, XLII, 933-958 (Dec., 1938).

Conclusion of a collection of letters addressed to Longfellow, Edward Everett, Jared Sparks, W. H. Seward, R. W. Griswold, Parke Godwin, and others.

[EMERSON, R. W.] Carpenter, Frederic I. "William James and Emerson." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 39-57 (Mar., 1939).

A study of James's annotations in nine volumes by Emerson and in E. W. Emerson's *Emerson in Concord* (1889) shows the complex relationships between Emerson and James.

[HAWTHORNE, NATHANIEL] Cooke, Alice Lovelace. "Some Evidences of Hawthorne's Indebtedness to Swift." *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826. *Studies in English*, pp. 140-162 (July 8, 1938).

Hawthorne "made a profound and artistic study of Swift's work, especially of *Gulliver's Travels*. This study gave him the material for at least six narratives."

Hawthorne, Manning. "Maria Louisa Hawthorne." *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, LXXV, 103-134 (Apr., 1939).

The tragic irony of Hawthorne's sister's career was her death just as she was to make her permanent home with Nathaniel, "the one person she loved above all others."

[MELVILLE, HERMAN] Anderson, Charles. "Melville's English Debut." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 23-38 (Mar., 1939).

Contrary to legend and to the contention of Raymond Weaver in *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic*, the contemporary English reception of Melville's first two books, *Typee* and *Omoo*, was more

favorable than it was in the United States. Only one of the fifteen major reviews was actually unfavorable.

Mabbott, T. O. "A Letter of Herman Melville." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVI, 60 (Jan. 28, 1939).

Reprints a letter of Melville, dated Nov. 27, 1857, "recommending another lecturer to fill an engagement which he felt he could not undertake."

[POE, E. A.] Holsapple, Cortell King. "*The Masque of the Red Death and I Promessi Sposi*." *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826. *Studies in English*, pp. 137-139 (July 8, 1938).

Poe reviewed a translation of Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi* for the *Southern Literary Messenger* in May, 1835. There are numerous parallels between the two stories.

Mathews, Joseph Chesley. "Did Poe Read Dante?" *Univ. of Texas Pub.*, No. 3826. *Studies in English*, pp. 123-136 (July 8, 1938).

Poe had some knowledge of Italian. He probably read considerable parts of the *Inferno* in the original or translation. He probably did not read the *Purgatorio* or the *Paradiso*.

Warfel, Harry R. "Poe's Dr. Percival: A Note on *The Fall of the House of Usher*." *Mod. Lang. Notes*, LIV, 129-131 (Feb., 1939).

Not James Gates Percival, (1795-1856), American poet, but Dr. Thomas Percival (1740-1804), English physician and author.

III. 1870-1900

[ADAMS, HENRY] Kronenberger, Louis. "'The Education of Henry Adams': The Sixth of the 'Books That Changed Our Minds.'" *New Republic*, XCVIII, 155-158 (Mar. 15, 1939).

Adams found luxury, solace, and escape in culture and education.

[CLEMENS, SAMUEL] Gates, William B. "Mark Twain to His English Publishers." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 78-81 (Mar., 1939).

Four autograph letters from Mark Twain to his English publishers, Messrs. Chatto and Windus, show "the cordial relations between Clemens and this publishing firm."

[CRANE, STEPHEN] Pratt, Lyndon Upson. "A Possible Source for *The Red Badge of Courage*." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 1-10 (Mar., 1939).

In the rout of the 34th New York regiment at Antietam, which Crane probably heard related by General J. B. Van Petten, professor of speech and elocution at the seminary at Claverack, New York, there is "a definite episode basically analogous to the story of Henry Fleming's 304th New York regiment" in *The Red Badge of Courage*.

[FREDERIC, HAROLD] Walcutt, Charles Child. "Harold Frederic and American Naturalism." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 11-22 (Mar., 1939).

Harold Frederic's novels, *Seth's Brother's Wife* and *The Damnation of Theron Ware*, are not naturalistic, because the author was unable to "eliminate ethical judgments and motivations in favor of materialistic ones." Each novel, however, begins with a suggestion of a deterministic philosophy.

[JAMES, HENRY] Knights, L. C. "Henry James and the Trapped Spectator." *Southern Rev.*, IV, 600-615 (Jan., 1939).

"From an early period James was interested in persons whose free and normal development . . . is thwarted by the egotism of others. As he grew older that preoccupation was joined (though not entirely superseded) by another—a preoccupation with the plight of the creature trapped not by others . . . but by Fate."

[MITCHELL, S. W.] Richardson, Lyon N. "S. Weir Mitchell at Work." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 58-65 (Mar., 1939).

A comparison of Mitchell's novel *Roland Blake* (1886) with a privately printed working draft, *Roland Blake and Some Other People*, reveals the author's "creative functioning." His aptitude lay "in depicting situation and psychopathic characters . . . and his greatest trouble arose in the handling of plot."

[WHITMAN, WALT] Allen, Gay Wilson. "Walt Whitman's 'Long Journey' Motif." *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Phil.*, XXXVIII, 76-95 (Jan., 1939).

Before writing *Leaves of Grass* Whitman planned to write a book "running in idea and description through the whole range of recorded time." Though the poet was forced to abandon this project, Mr. Allen thinks that the intention seriously influenced *Leaves of Grass* and provides the key for understanding Whitman's style and his poetic message.

Rubin, Joseph J. "Whitman on Byron, Scott and Sentiment." *Notes and Queries*, CLXXVI, 171 (Mar., 11, 1939).

Reprints from the *Yankee Doodle* (I, 182 [1846-1847]) an article in which the editor pokes fun at an editorial by Whitman in the *Brooklyn Eagle* where Whitman finds fault with some gentlemen of a literary society for "getting together, and 'adoring' and 'doting' on Byron, Scott and 'sentiment.'"

White, William. "Walt Whitman and Sir William Osler." *Amer. Lit.*, XI, 73-77 (Mar., 1939).

Cushing's *Life of Sir William Osler* contains passages from an unfinished address on Whitman. Of particular interest in these notes are Osler's impressions on first visiting Whitman and on reading his poetry. The Osler Library at McGill University contains more parts of this planned address, which are not available for publication, because of the provisions of Osler's will.

IV. 1900-1939

- [DOS PASSOS] L[atorre], M[ariano]. "John Dos Passos y su última novela." *Atenea* (Santiago de Chile), XV, 216-222 (Feb., 1938).

A short biography of Dos Passos and a résumé and criticism of *The Big Money*.

- [FROST, ROBERT] Newdick, Robert S. "Robert Frost Looks at War." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 52-59 (Jan., 1939).

"In his thought on war, as in his thought on birth and death and all between, Frost, like Hardy, neither shrinks from perceiving the hard realities of the world and its society nor flinches from speaking the truth of all things as he sees the truth from mood to mood."

- [HEMINGWAY, ERNEST] Adams, J. Donald. "Ernest Hemingway." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 87-94 (Feb., 1939).

Hemingway shows that he "can see and describe with a precision and a vividness unmatched since Kipling," but his attitude toward life is still "basically adolescent."

- [LINDERMAN, FRANK B.] Van de Water, Frederick F. "The Work of Frank B. Linderman." *Frontier and Midland*, XIX, 148-152 (Spring, 1939).

"Frank B. Linderman [1869-1938] wrote a dozen books. All of them dealt with the West he had known since boyhood. . . . In his great works . . . [he] made the most important contribution toward comprehension of the spirit and character of the ways of life and ways of thought of the free Plains Indian, the red horse-people of the old West." This entire number of *Frontier and Midland* is devoted to a bibliography of Linderman's periodical poetry, essays, and books, with eulogies and recollections by friends.

- [PORTER, W. S.] Gohdes, Clarence. "Some Letters by O. Henry." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 31-39 (Jan., 1939).

Prints a group of nine O. Henry letters written in 1905 and 1909 to St. George Rathborne, Henry W. Lanier, and Harry P. Steger.

- [SAROYAN, WILLIAM] Hatcher, Harlan. "William Saroyan." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 169-177 (Mar., 1939).

A critical examination and stock-taking of the six volumes of short stories by Saroyan, the young Armenian-American, shows that his own personality completely dominates his writing. He "seems determined not to be embittered by experience and to let nothing escape until he can note it down in words."

- [WILDER, THORNTON] Kohler, Dayton. "Thornton Wilder." *Eng. Jour.* (College Ed.), XXVIII, 1-11 (Jan., 1939).

Our Town, "an outgrowth of Mr. Wilder's other work and closely related to it, . . . shows his sense of the timeless and universal in hu-

man affairs, his revolt against the hackneyed trappings of the realistic stage, and his beauty of language."

[WOLFE, THOMAS] Bishop, John Peale. "The Sorrows of Thomas Wolfe." *Kenyon Rev.*, I, 7-17 (Winter, 1939).

Wolfe "proved that an art founded solely on the individual . . . cannot be sound."

V. LANGUAGE AND FOLK LITERATURE

Bayard, S. P. "Witchcraft Magic and Spirits on the Border of Pennsylvania and West Virginia." *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, LI, 47-59 (Jan.-Mar., 1938).

The author insists that much more superstitious belief survives than one would suspect, and he cites examples of apparently earnest incantation or formula practices still current.

Berrey, Lester V. "Newly-Wedded Words." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 3-10 (Feb., 1939).

A list of recent examples of the long popular "compounding formula" for coining slang.

Blair, Walter. "Inquisitive Yankee Descendants in Arkansas." *Amer. Speech*, XIV, 11-22 (Feb., 1939).

From 1781 to *The Arkansas Traveller*.

Botkin, B. A. "WPA and Folklore Research." *Southern Folklore Quar.*, III, 7-14 (Mar., 1939).

An explanation of the plan and procedure of the Folklore Studies of the Federal Writers' Project.

Brearley, H. C. "Ba-ad Nigger." *So. Atlantic Quar.*, XXXVIII, 75-81 (Jan., 1939).

In Negro folk literature the "bad" man plays a role hardly secondary to that of the trickster so well exemplified by the Br'er Rabbit of Joel Chandler Harris's *Uncle Remus*.

Campbell, Marie. "Survivals of Old Folk Drama in the Kentucky Mountains." *Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore*, LI, 10-24 (Jan.-Mar., 1938).

Texts of a Christmas play, a Plough Monday play, and two play fragments—the only survivals of folk drama in the area, the author believes.

Ericson, Eston Everett. "Observations on New English Syntax." *Anglia*, XLIII, 100-103 (Jan., 1939).

Illustrates and comments on American use (1) of the split infinitive, (2) of *did* to express the conditional subjunctive, and (3) of *was* in transposed clauses.

Haugen, Einar. "Notes on Voiced I in American Speech." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 627-634 (Parts XVI and XVII, 1938).

Hench, Atcheson L., Dobbie, Elliott V. K., Treviño, S. N. "Bibliography [of American English]." *Amer. Speech*, XIII, 297-306 (Dec., 1938); XIV, 53-66 (Feb., 1939).

Bibliography of articles, pamphlets, and books on "Present Day English," "General and Historical Studies," and "Phonetics."

Jackson, George Pullen. "Did Spiritual Folk-Songs Develop First in the Northeast?" *Southern Folklore Quar.*, III, 1-3 (Mar., 1939).

The Baptists were the chief bringers of religious folk-songs to northeast America in the eighteenth century and purveyors thereof to the Southern camp-meeting folk around 1800.

Kurath, Hans. "Progress of the Linguistic Atlas." *Dialect Notes*, VI, 625-626 (Parts XVI and XVII, 1938).

Leacock, Stephen. "Our 'Living Language': a Defense." *N. Y. Times Mag.*, Feb. 26, 1939, pp. 9, 14.

A spirited reply to S. F. Markham's "indictment" of American speech (especially slang). See below.

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